Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-023
Friday
2 February 1990

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FBIS-EEU-90-023 *2 February 1990*

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BCP Congress Continues; Government Resigns

2d Day Proceedings

AU0202121590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Feb 90 p 1

["Information Report" on the second day of the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party Extraordinary Congress]

[Text] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continued its work on 31 January. Precisely at 0900 [0700 GMT] Petya Yordanova, delegate from Sofia, opened the morning session and gave the floor to Volya Filipov, delegate from Sliven and chairman of the congress' Secretariat. He reported that 25 delegates have taken the floor during the first day of the congress, 446 delegates have registered to speak, and 19 have withdrawn their requests to speak.

The following delegates took the floor during the morning session and spoke on the draft documents: Stefan Prodev, member of the commission on preparing the congress; Meglena Plugchieva, delegate from Varna; Aleksandur Lilov, delegate from Belogradchik; Panayot Karakachanov, delegate from Yambol; Stefan Stefanov, delegate from Kurdzhali; and Kiril Vasilev, delegate from Sofia.

After the intermission, the session was chaired by Dobri Aleksandrov, delegate from Mikhaylovgrad Oblast. He reported that many letters and telegrams supporting the work of the congress have been received. Afterward, he gave the floor to Tsvyatko Petkov, delegate from Vratsa, and Vasil Vulov, delegate from Razgrad.

Afterward, the chairman gave the floor to Dimo Uzunov, chairman of the Mandate Commission. He reported that 2,804 people have been elected as congressional delegates. Some 558 have been directly elected by the primary party organizations. Some 12 delegates are not attending the congress for justifiable reasons. The congress is a widely representative and competent party forum, authorized to decide on the documents that are being discussed. The report of the Mandate Commission was adopted with 2,714 votes "for," 65—"against," and 23—"abstaining."

Georgi Krusharov, delegate from Bratsigovo; Dimitur Stanishev, delegate from Kyustendil; and Valya Yanchev, delegate from Pleven, took the floor.

The first afternoon session was chaired by Iliya Mikhaylov, representative of the delegates from Lovech Oblast. The following delegates took part in the debate: Nikola Popov, delegate from Sofia's "Sredets" Municipality; Krasimir Premyanov, delegate from Varna Municipality; Toncho Zhechev, member of the commission on preparing the congress; Veselina Lazarova, delegate from Svishtov; Petur-Emil Mitev, delegate from Sofia's "Vitosha" Municipality; Rosen Karadimov, delegate from "Sredets" Municipality; and Petur Dimitrov, delegate from Varna Municipality.

The second afternoon session was chaired by Petur-Emil Mitev. It began with brief presentations by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the commission on the draft of the new BCP Statute; Petur Mladenov, chairman of the committee on the political declaration; and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Delegates' Conference. They reported on the work of these auxiliary organs of the congress, in charge of preparing the two congressional documents and the draft lists of candidates for membership in the party's leading organs and for the post of RABOTNICHESKO DELO chief editor. The following delegates took the floor: Mimi Petkova, delegate from Sofia's "Mladost" municipality; Yordan Angelov, delegate from Ruse Municipality; Radoslav Velev, delegate of the primary party organizations at the RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial Board and publishing-printing complex, NOVO VREME magazine, and Partizdat; Aleksandur Tomov from Sofia's "Kliment Okhridski" University; and Khristo Smolenov, delegate from "Sredets" Municipality;

The evening session was chaired by Kostadin Strumenliev, representative of the delegates from Plovdiv Oblast. The following delegates took the floor: Valeri Petrov, delegate from "Sredets" Municipality; Dimitur Yonchev, delegate from the Armed Forces; Plamen Georgiev, delegate from Slivo Pole Municipality, Razgrad Oblast; Chavdar Kyuranov, delegate from "Sredets" Municipality; and Georgi Pirinski, delegate from Blagoevgrad Municipality.

The 14th BCP Congress continues its work.

'Lively' Debate Takes Place

AU3101175790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] At the first day of work of the 14th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], a lively discussion has developed about the crisis in Bulgarian society and party. Here is a report from Sofia by our special correspondent Dragan Petrovic:

It is a fact that compared with the recent methods of work of the BCP, the congress is held in an unusually open and democratic atmosphere. Forty delegates have spoken so far and 400 more have been put down to speak. There are some delegates who are still not accustomed to these new ways so their speeches carried the bitter taste of the burden of a totalitarian regime over many years.

The impression is that opinions are polarized. The debate shows the conflict between real reformists and dogmatic forces that, it seems, should not be underestimated. One gains the impression—at least from the speeches made by the people who have been on the rostrum so far—that conservatives have a slight advantage. However, that impression may be misleading, because this is obviously only a warm-up before the real debate that will follow after the report on the commissions' work is read.

However, it is a fact that the cadre renewal in the party has not been completely carried out and that there are still some people who are hampering reform processes or making them difficult. Therefore, one hears more and more often demands for a radical renewal of the leadership both in the Central Committee and at all other levels. The need is stressed for new people with fresh ideas on how to solve problems that burden Bulgarian society.

Addressing a large number of domestic and foreign journalists, the spokesman of the congress has expressed the conviction that the BCP will come out of this congress strengthened and better prepared both for the political struggle at the forthcoming elections and for solving the grave economic situation in Bulgaria.

The message the Soviet Communists sent to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress was read at the congress. The message supports the same things that the head of the Bulgarian state and party insisted upon, and that is the build-up of democratic socialism and a society based on social justice.

Communists Linked to Zhikov

AU0102161990 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 1 Feb 90

["BCP Congress Calls for More Resolve"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—What to do with the high-ranking Communists responsible for the bleak condition of the country? Mr Petur Mladenov's report on the first day of the congress listed the names of those in the highest positions who were personally linked with Todor Zhivkov's regime.

Today the secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] moved that those people's party membership be reconsidered not at the congress but by the ethics commission which is to be set up. It will observe democratic procedure and the accused will be able to present their cases.

Mr Stoyan Kostov, a farm worker, reproached the government with trying to temporize and survive instead of tackling the actual problems. By giving way to the peremptory demands of individual social groups, it contributes to mounting tension in the country.

The speaker said that government contracts and the steep rises in the price of equipment increasingly rob agricultural labourers of their income. One tractor, which until recently cost the equivalent of 30 metric tons of wheat, now sells for the equivalent of 85 tons.

The prime minister Mr Georgi Atanasov drew fire from Mr Kostov, who accused him of being solely concerned with his own well-being. On behalf of his electors, Mr Stoyan Kostov called on the government to resign and to be replaced by a coalition government of competent people.

Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for two months, seconded the suggestion on the replacement of the prime minister. He agreed that recently the government has not been doing its job. In his view, one of the serious flaws of the BCP Central Committee is that it kept the same head of government. "I hope that this state of affairs will soon be changed," Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov said.

The speaker expressed the opinion that the congress should reach agreement on the key politico-theoretical ideas. In his view, organisational unity requires above all ideological unity.

The positions of the Alternative Socialist Organisation (ASO), a faction within the BCP, were expounded by Prof. Ivan Nikolov, who stressed the need of a new inner party dialogue on the nature of the BCP. The ASO should be regarded as a factor and a force to bring restructuring to completion.

He emphasized that it is wrong to make all majority decisions mandatory for the minority. The decisions of the central bodies should not be mandatory, either. The primary branches should be independent and should work on the principles of self-government.

A delegate from the auditorium suggested that the Communists belonging to the ideological tendencies within the BCP be thanked for the revival of initiative and for spearheading the march to democracy.

A number of appeals were made for the replacement of the cadres who over the last twenty years have been occupying ministerial posts. Mr Kiril Zarev, the incumbent minister of planning and economy, was mentioned by name for having appointed 11 deputy ministers in his ministry. "He can only teach us centralized planning and he will be handicapping the economic managers before unleashing them to race each other," said the delegate Mr Georgi Naydenov, chief executive officer of Teksim, a company which thrived in the late 1960's before being closed down in a court trial.

The congress has received 1,543 requests, complaints, statements and letters from individual citizens, primary BCP branches and work forces, said Mr Evtim Stoimenov, who heads the commission on the matter. Two hundred and fifty of the messages contain specific suggestions on the congress documents, 230 request a review of party penalties, another 425 apply for the conferment of the title "active resistance fighter against fascism and capitalism," and 632 raise unsolved housing, judicial, labour legislation and territorial and settlement problems.

It was pointed out that now that the constitutional guarantees of its leading role have been repealed, the BCP can only solve problems concerning its inner party life.

Cadre Changes Expected

AU0102205890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] During the third day of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], a complete reexamination of the April plenum in 1956 was demanded. Todor Zhivkov based his unlimited power for decades upon those 1956 decisions. Here is a report by Dragan Petrovic, our special correspondent from Sofia:

[Begin recording] Today's debate at the BCP Congress has shown again that more attention is devoted to what has been done than to what should be done. Along with a justified criticism of the past times, there are some people who make capital of the criticism against Todor Zhivkov alone and thereby make their sole contribution to the renewal of the party.

In the continuation of its work, the congress is expected to adopt documents and to hold a closed session that will discuss cadre and organizational issues. It is almost certain that there will be a change at the head of the party. Petur Mladenov will remain at the post of the head of state and the name of the new head of the party will be known late tonight or tomorrow morning.

One of the important moments at the congress was when the BCP proposed to the opposition to form a so-called national consensus government until the elections. The main task of this coalition government would be to come to grips with the deep economic crisis that has been shaking the Bulgarian society. However, the oppositional Union of Democratic Forces has rejected such an opportunity with the explanation that the opposition's basic demand, the overall dismantling of the totalitarian system, has not been met and that the BCP's monopoly is still intact. The opposition will be ready for such a step only when legislative and executive power is based upon democratic principles and the confidence of the people.

Where does the essence of the olive branch that the BCP believes it has been offering lie and why does the opposition see this present to be more like a stake? When one looks through all that, both things appear to be parts of preelection political games that have already begun.

Aware of the grave economic situation and the consequences a possible shock therapy may have, the BCP suggests the national consensus government so that the opposition should also partly pull hot chestnuts from the fire. The opposition, however, does not want definite things to be turned into promises. It demands a government (?of professionals) until the elections and does not want to share responsibility for the mistakes Bulgarian Communists have made in economy.

The opposition here also plays the card of time, something that certainly does not suit the BCP, so it is there that one should seek an explanation to the demand issued by the Union of Democratic Forces to hold elections in November instead of in May. [end recording]

Manifesto Adopted

AU0102164890 Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—This afternoon the 14th BCP congress decided to call the new political document of the party a "manifesto". This name was approved after active and animated debates on the text of the draft political declaration and its name.

The report of the commission on the draft, which was published in advance for discussion, points out that the party members and all social strata showed great interest in it. By the opening of the congress, the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] had received more than 3,300 letters, cables and resolutions.

The commission reported that the draft declaration was received with approval by the party and the broad public and appreciated as an important and necessary document which should state the ideological and political platform of the Bulgarian Communists at the present complicated difficult stage in the development of the country, outline the main directions and targets of the party by taking into consideration the new realities, and become the basis for its restructuring into a party of democratic socialism.

Most remarks and proposals are related to the evaluation of the past period; the society of democratic socialism; some points in the ideological and theoretical principles and the social basis of the party; the reduction of the party apparatus and making wide use of the services of unsalaried party workers; diversifying the forms of ownership; limiting the negative social effects of the radical economic policy; the party concept of the new role of the Army, security bodies, the courts of law and the Chief Prosecutor's Office; deideologization of science, culture and education; efficient ecological policy, etc.

The discussion at the congress was focussed on these problems.

The congress approved the document with a remark that the problem of the name of the party will be settled by holding a referendum with the party members.

BCP Statute Adopted

AU0102161490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 1 Feb 90

(Text] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continues. The delegates adopted the new BCP Statute. Afterward a 1-hour intermission was announced, so that the delegates could study the lists with the names of the members of the new party leading organs. A closed meeting will take part, at which

the candidates for the new BCP leading organs will be discussed, and the election will take place.

Party Name Preserved

AU0102180490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continues. After understanding that they cannot resolve all the problems of the country at this forum, the delegates finally moved to discussing internal party issues. The intellectual and creative potential, repeatedly mentioned at the congress, finally made itself evident. Within hours, democracy demonstrated its possibilities. Obviously, it is yet to expand and strengthen the party's positions under conditions of political competition with all social forces and parliamentary democracy.

The basic congressional documents—the Manifesto on Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria and the new BCP Statute—were adopted after a discussion and were followed by certain amendments, addenda, and recommendations. The name "Manifesto" evoked disputes, however, the opinion that by doing this the party disassociates itself from its previous image and describes its new line, prevailed.

By rejecting the principle of democratic centralism, now replaced by the principle of democratic unity, the party also disassociated itself from using military terminology to describe its goals and tasks. The opinion prevailed that a decision on changing the party name can be adopted only by conducting an all-party referendum. The present name of the party was preserved as a recognition of the fact that the party does not relinquish its revolutionary traditions.

The change of the party's character also evoked great interest. The Manifesto and the BCP Statute describe the party as "Marxist" and not as "Marxist-Leninist," as it was until now. This alarmed certain delegates, who thought that this represents a concession to social democracy. The disapproval in the hall was obvious. I explain all this because concern was expressed about the power of the democratic alternatives. The spirit of the congress' afternoon session eliminated those concerns. [passage omitted]

Lukanov on Party Statute

AU0102201290 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] continued its work this afternoon. The great interest in the preparation of the BCP Statute showed the adherence to the deep organizational restructuring, said Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Commission on the Preparation the Draft Party Statute. He said that the party members see in this restructuring one of the obligatory prerequisites for the whole party activity for mobilization of the moral and political reserves of the party in its difficult struggle for gaining back the people's confidence and strengthening the party's place in this country's political line.

The draft differs from the present statute in its volume and contents, in structure and major principles, said A. Lukanov. He expressed the opinion that the commission finds it inexpedient that the statute should be called temporary as this might lead to doubts in the course of organizational renewal.

The congress approved as major the principle for building the party's activity on the principle of democratic unity in place of the former principle of democratic centralism. The organizational unity and unity of action, based on wider democratic discussions, is stronger and more lasting than the formal unity, imposed from above, it was said in the discussions.

The old approach to the issues of unity would place the party before permanent organizational crises and dangers of fractioning, Andrey Lukanov said.

According to the new Statute the party's political mainstay are the Communists themselves, as well as the basic party organizations founded by them. Through the basic organizations the Communists participate in the formation and realization of the whole party policy. The other organizational structures in the party do not stand above the basic organisations. They coordinate their activity and the fulfilment of the common tasks.

In the Statute there are guarantees against all kinds of possibilities for renewal of the authoritarian style in the party's life against monopoly of power and breaking of the leading officials from the Communists and the realities in life. The guarantees are sought in the alternatives and competition, in the mandate principle and openness, in the right to criticize all bodies and members of the party. The statute plans self-determination of the major party organizations. The Communists are to decide alone whether they would found organizations at their work places, residential places or places of study. The Communists should decide in what kind of organizational form they would lead their party life and in which organization they will be members. Of course, in future, the resolution of this issue will have to comply with the Law on the Political Organizations in Bulgaria, which is to be introduced at the National Assembly.

As far as the issue about the interparty pluralism and the activity of the ideological currents, platforms and associations in the party go, the congress confirmed the adherence to the real interparty discussion, the real possibility to preserve the organizational unity with a variety of opinions and ideological platforms. The Statute confirmed the minority right to be represented in the leading bodies.

The congress of the BCP is to be convened every four years and have short annual sessions.

According to the Statute, the members of the Supreme Party Council are 131. In that way the different social groups will be more justly represented in the party and the ideological and territorial government will be improved.

On the first examination, the democratic procedure for election by the congress of the chairman, deputy chairmen and the party secretary was not ratified by the congress. As a main shortcoming the delegates who took the floor indicated that in such a kind of election the party will place itself in a peculiar situation compared to the Supreme Party Council and the remaining members of the chairmanship. Under the present dynamic political situation the Supreme Party Council should be granted an opportunity to take operative decisions, including those related to the cadres.

The party's policy in the state and social bodies will be realized by its members, participating in the activity of these structures on a legal basis. The club of deputies at the National Assembly will have a special role.

The party will switch to financial self-supporting and gives up the budget subsidies. No matter how the expenditures are reduced, Andrey Lukanov said, quite a lot of funds will be necessary to finance current activities and large political campaigns. The first of these campaigns is related with the forthcoming parliamentary elections. The commission proposes that the membership dues of people whose incomes are under the minimum working salary will be 10 stotinki per month. The remaining part of the Communists will determine alone their membership dues under the condition that this due should not be below 1 per cent of their incomes.

We are expecting that the Communists with higher incomes will support the party in the present difficult moment also by participation which corresponds to their real possibility to finance the party activity, Andrey Lukanov said.

The demand of the majority of primary organizations was adopted that half of the membership dues will be left at their disposal. This will confirm the formulation about the independence and the special role of the party's basic organizations in the whole party. The basic organizations can, if they are willing, grant half of these means for party needs, but depending on the purpose and under a strict control on their part.

With the adoption of the Statute the discussions were over, after which started the discussion on the nominations for the Supreme Party Council. The results of the elections for leading party bodies will be known late during the night.

Government Resigns

AU0102222490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2200 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] This evening the Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] adopted a declaration that, after stormy debates, was entitled: Manifesto of the BCP for Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria. A new BCP Statute was also adopted, in connection with which Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Commission on Drafting the Statute, explicitly emphasized that the final version of the statute will take into account all the appropriate remarks made at the congress.

As our reporters have just informed us, it was announced at the congress that the Bulgarian Government has submitted its resignation. The resignation was deposited at the National Assembly on 1 February as a direct result of the outright expression of disapproval of the government's activity on the part of the congressional delegates.

At the moment the congress is in recess, and in about an hour's time the voting will begin for new leading organs of the BCP.

Caretaker Government

AU0202073090 Sofia BTA in English 0205 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Bulgarian Government Resigns"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—This evening Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave in the resignation of the Government to the chairman of the National Assembly.

The motive adduced for the resignation is the necessity to form a Cabinet on a broad national basis.

Until the resignation of the Council of Ministers is accepted by the National Assembly, the former will continue to perform their duties.

There has been not such a case since 1947.

Cabinet Resignation Viewed

AU0202073990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] It is difficult to assess when the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] will end. I believe that you all understood that the congress continued throughout the entire night, and is continuing at the moment. It was a long night, but I suppose it was even longer for the 158 candidates for the 131 places in the Supreme Party Council.

The results of elections are not known yet, but I am convinced that the listeners of Khorizont will be the first to know, as they were the first to learn last night that the government had resigned.

As you know, journalists did not attend the closed meeting at which the resignation was reported. In response to a question by a delegate, while discussing the candidature of Premier Georgi Atanasov for membership in the Supreme Party Council, Petur Mladenov announced the resignation of the government. A short while afterward, Petur Mladenov offered some additional details. You know, he told the delegates, that already at the BCP Central Committee 29 December Plenum, the Central Committee had proposed the idea of forming a government with the participation of other sociopolitical forces as one of the means of overcoming the crisis. Afterward, at the roundtable, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union proposed to form a provisional government of national consensus, and presented this as its own idea. In the meantime, the Politburo had discussed the issue of how the government itself is to function under the circumstances that had arisen. It was decided to await the congress, and hear the opinions of the delegates on the work of the Council of Ministers.

The rest is already known, and we have informed you about developments. The opinion of the congress was clear: this government cannot control the situation. Obviously, yesterday the government itself reached this conclusion, and understood what the proper step in such cases is. The resignation of the 22 Cabinet members, led by Georgi Atanasov, has been submitted in writing to the National Assembly.

Only after learning this did the delegates understand why the chairman of the Council of Ministers did not speak from the congress' rostrum, despite the numerous attacks against him and his Cabinet.

In our previous newscasts, we refrained from forecasting the new Cabinet, and we shall continue to do so. Nevertheless, we were present during a conversation between Andrey Lukanov and several delegates, and understood that the BCP does not have specific claims about specific ministries and posts. However, the new Cabinet should adhere to the principles of our foreign political and economic relations, the obligations toward the Warsaw Pact, and the agreements with CEMA [illegible] far as domestic policy is concerned, it must lead toward stability, and guarantee the social status of all groups of the population.

I would like to stress that this was not an official statement.

We continue to await the results of the elections.

'Heated' Dispute Breaks Out

AU0202104690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Valeri Todorov telephone report from the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on 2 February—live]

[Text] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continues. The party forum was prolonged by 1 day. After the long night, during which it was reported that the government had resigned, the closed session continues. We journalists do not have access to the session, but this does not prevent us from obtaining information.

The debate on the candidatures for the Supreme Party Council, the Financial-Auditing Commission, and the Commission on Party Ethics is actively continuing. The chief editors of the party publications are to be elected. Some of the candidates have withdrawn their candidacies in favor of others, while the names of others have been struck off the lists. The tone is strict, and after a more moderate exchange, the dispute again became heated. Concern is again being expressed about party unity. Perhaps this was the reason for the proposal to enlarge the Supreme Party Council from 131 to 153 members, which indeed was already made in the preliminary discussion. The idea of expanding the forum aims at more fully encompassing the ideological trends in the party and giving them an appropriate representation in the leading party organs. The new candidates that have been proposed demonstrate the striving to seek a better balance between veteran party figures who occupy responsible party and state posts and representatives of various strata of the party's social membership.

Here is the first official announcement that we can report: Stefan Prodev has been elected RABOTNICHESKO DELO chief editor by total approval. Some 2,335 delegates out of 2,900 voted for him. The other candidate for this post was the former chief editor, Radoslav Radev.

Andrey Lukanov, who is chairing the session, withdrew the proposal to expand the membership of the Supreme Party Council. The following figures received the most votes for membership in this leading party organ: Boyko Dimitrov, Nenko Temelkov, and Filip Bokov.

The discussion continues because a proposal was submitted to effect a balanced representation of the ideological trends in the final membership of the Supreme Party Council. Kiril Vasilev, Ivan Nikolov, and Koprinka Chervenkova, leaders of the Alternative Socialist Alliance and the "Bulgarian Road to Europe," have been additionally proposed for membership in the Supreme Party Council.

Supreme Council Elected

AU0202112190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Aglaya Shamlieva telephone report from the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on 2 February—live]

[Text] The closed session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has ended. The session indeed was closed, but as you understood, we journalists have information about it.

After a stormy and occasionally dramatic debate on the issue of the number of members of the Supreme Party Council, a debate that for the first time since the beginning of the congress really posed the issue of a split in the party, a decision was adopted according to which all 153 delegates who received a majority—50 percent plus one vote—will become members of the council. I shall remind you that the initial decision called for a membership of 131 Communists.

Dozens of delegates took part in the debate, including Andrey Lukanov—who chaired the session, Petur Mladenov, Aleksandur Lilov, and Dobri Dzhurov. Why did the membership in the Supreme Party Council become such a conflict issue? Perhaps because if it had been limited to 131 members the representatives of the ideological trends within the party would not have been represented in it, while on the other hand, high-ranking party leaders, against whom the delegates reacted sharply, were supposed to become members.

Finally, the delegates started to chant "Unity! Unity!" and thus they effected the decision, namely, that the Supreme Party Council will have 153 members.

The closed session ended. A few minutes ago the newly elected Supreme Party Council convened to elect the Presidency [predsedatelstvo]—president, vice president, and secretary. The other organs that were elected—the Central Commission on Party Ethics and the Central Financial-Auditing Commission—are also in session. We are ready to relay live the concluding session of the congress.

Further on Supreme Council

AU0202114090 Sofia BTA in English 1043 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—This morning, after discussions and voting, which went on for more than 19 hours throughout the night, the results were announced from the election of members of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Party Council. According to the new statute adopted by the 14th Extraordinary Congress, it is the party's collective leading body which has 131 members instead of the former Central Committee which numbered 190 members and 121 alternate-members.

The congress did not elect in the Supreme Party Council Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, which handed its resignation last night, Mincho Yovchev, member of the Politburo, Vasil Mruchkov, vice State Council president, the former alternate- members of the Politburo Panteley Pachov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev and Petko Danev, and the Secretary of the CC Prodan Stoyanov, as well as six of the nine first secretaries of the party's regional committees. Some of them were not included at all in the nomination list.

As many as 158 people applied for the 131 seats in the Party Supreme Council.

There are no representatives of the security bodies in the council, with the exception of the interior minister and one of his deputies, and there is not a single ambassador. There are five representatives of the Bulgarian National Army. Most numerous in the council are the economic leaders and experts, as well as the leaders and representatives of the party municipal committees.

Among the members there are representatives of the ideological currents in the party, which were set up over the last months.

In compliance with the Statute a Central Commission of the Party Ethics was elected for the first time—51 people out of 70 nominations, as well as a central finance and revision commission—31 people out of 48 nominations.

For the first time at a party congress was elected the editor-in- chief of the party daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO. This was Stefan Prodev, the most respected Bulgarian journalist and publicist today, who had been elected five days earlier with a large majority.

Lilov Elected Party Leader

AU0202131090 Sofia BTA in English 1259 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—Aleksandur Lilov was elected chairman of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Lilov Speech to Congress

AU0202130090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1212 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, on election to president of the Presidency of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), at the final session of the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on 2 February—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I think that right now we hardly need a speech on behalf of the newly elected Supreme Party Council at the congress. Our discussion, which was so rich in content, sincere in character, and strenuous, and which touched upon all basic problems related to the situation in our party and its further development, was sufficient to illuminate the problems we shall be facing in the near future. Therefore, I think it would be premature on my part to read a concluding speech at this congress. I think that at the present time our party will have to adapt itself, if I may say so, to the tactic of fewer words, documents, and appeals, and to more work among the people, more businesslike activity, and more results. The party must concentrate on implementing its policy in life in order to be able to restore the confidence of the people and implement the difficult tasks it will have to implement under the difficult conditions that now exist.

What I would like to do by all means today is, first of all, to express cordial and friendly gratitude to Comrade Petur Mladenov, until now general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], on his selfless work. [prolonged applause] These are not the accepted words that one usually says on such occasions. I think Comrade Petur Mladenov deserved these words for many things he has accomplished in our party, and not merely with his long years of work in responsible posts to which the BCP assigned him. He deserved these words for his political courage on 10 November and the 2 difficult months that followed. [applause] From the bottom of my heart I wish him success in his present and future activity as head of state of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [applause]

I would also like to report to you that the Supreme Executive Council [title of body as heard; otherwise being called "Supreme Council" and "Supreme Party Council"] had a rather lively discussion, which could be assessed as the continuation of the discussion in the congressional hall. This discussion was marked by no other intentions, wishes, and goals than one single goal—to create a new, powerful, authoritative leadership that enjoys great moral credit and the confidence of the party and the people.

This was the principle with which the Supreme Council's session on electing the new party leadership began. However, it turned out that the practical implementation of this goal, which is now absolutely essential for us as a party, turned out to be a difficult issue. This is so because we really must make an effort and find in our ranks such a party leadership as is very strong in its political ability to resolve the new political tasks and that enjoys great authority and moral credit. Not only will this leadership have to work under difficult conditions, it will also have to lead the party to victory in the forthcoming elections.

The solution of this task proved in principle to be a difficult matter. Why? Not because the congress has not sent good cadres to the Supreme Party Council. On the contrary, a group of the best elements of our cadre potential has been sent to the council. However, two fundamental issues emerged there: The first, as Comrade Mladenov informed you yesterday, relates to the fact that our government has submitted its resignation to our parliament. Consequently, we, as a ruling party, together with our ally, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], will have to determine our participation in the future Cabinet, and our representatives in the Cabinet. Taking into consideration the discussion that took place at the congress, and the line that emerged in this context, namely, to march consistently—and really and not just in words—toward separating party and state, it was decided that this principle must be observed while forming the Presidency of the Supreme Party Council. This is a very serious matter. We must decide how to distribute the party's cadres, what cadres should be directed to work in the government, who will have to prepare the elections and help us win them, and what party cadres will remain in the party leadership, in the Presidency. This was the first consideration.

The second consideration was related to the fact that we must renew the party leadership, that the new leadership should not just consist of people who were members of this leadership until now, and that we must show not only to the party but to all people that the spirit that permeated this hall and our discussion, and the demand to elect new people and new generations to the party leadership, must be embodied in its future leadership, namely, the Presidency.

Therefore, by midday today the plenum decided to elect a nucleus of the future Presidency of the Supreme Party Council, whose members are: chairman [predsedatel]—Aleksandur Lilov, and members—Petur Mladenov, Dobri Dzhurov, and Andrey Lukanov. At 1900 [1700 GMT] the plenum of the BCP Central Committee ... ah, ... the Supreme Party Council, will continue, in order to discuss all fundamental and personnel issues related to electing the additional members.

What I would like to say in conclusion, dear comrades, is that we understand the great responsibility that you place on our shoulders. This is a grave responsibility. Therefore, it is not so much happiness that we fell, but rather recognition of this immense responsibility. We assure you that the Supreme Party Council, as party leadership, will do everything to justify your confidence. Thank you very much. [applause]

I would also like you to confirm, if you find this appropriate, a commission that would prepare our election platform.

The chairman of the Presidency of our Supreme Party Council has been proposed as chairman of the commission. The following comrades have been proposed as members of the commission: Aleksandur Tomov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Andrey Lukanov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Anzhel Vagenshtayn, member of the Supreme Party Council; Atanas Semerdzhiev, member of the Supreme Party Council; Asen Zhablenski, member of the Supreme Party Council; Boyko Dimitrov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Vasil Mruchkov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Vasil Ivanov, deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Violeta Kuzmanova, member of the Supreme Party Council; Georgi Pirinski, member of the Supreme Party Council; Grudi Atanasov, member of the Central Commission on Party Ethics; Dragomir Draganov, docent at Sofia University; Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Dimitur Yonchev, member of the Supreme Party Council; Dobrin Spasov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Evtim Stoimenov, member of the Central Commission on Party Ethics; Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Zhak Nisim Karakash, member of the Central Control-Auditing Commission; Ivan Dimitrov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Professor Ivan Nikolov, member of the Supreme Party Council;

Nikolay Vasilev, docent at Sofia University; Yordan Radichkov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Mincho Yovchev, member of the Supreme Party Council; Nadya Asparukhova, member of the Supreme Party Council; Nora Ananieva, member of the Supreme Party Council; Nikola Popov, rector of Sofia University; Petko Ganchev Professor at the Institute of Social Sciences; Petur-Emil Mitev, member of the Supreme Party Council; Panteley Pachov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Petya Yordanova, member of the Supreme Party Council; Rumen Georgiev, member of the Supreme Party Council; Rosen Karadimov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Stanko Todorov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Stefan Prodev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO chief editor; Stoyka Zhelyazkova, member of the Central Commission on Party Ethics; Toncho Zhechev, member of the Supreme Party Council; Filip Bokov, member of the Supreme Party Council; and Chavdar Kyuranov, member of the Supreme Party Council.

Please discuss this membership and approve if you deem this correct.

Lilov Comments

AU0202140490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1325 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] We have received a dispatch from a reporter in our team that is covering the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Literally only 1 minute after the conclusion of the final session of the congress, he managed to obtain a brief statement from Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Presidency of the Supreme Party Council of the BCP. The first question put to him on behalf of the "KHORIZONT" program was: What action will you take first of all?

[Begin recording] [Lilov] I would like to get started on the work, on persevering, down-to-earth work, in order that our party may overcome the situation we are in, succeed in restructuring itself in fact, not in words, restore the whole of its prestige and the people's confidence, present itself successfully at the forthcoming elections, and offer our people a new policy, and a new program for Bulgaria's development.

[Unidentified reporter] Elections lie ahead. How do you see the role of the mass media in their participation in these elections?

[Lilov] I regard them as basic factors, and I hope that they will perform their role. Things are changing every day, and we are pleased at these changes and hope that they will have all the necessary means at their disposal to perform their jobs with professionalism in order to tell our people the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and thus help them to determine their positions well in the forthcoming elections, and at the same time help our party to bring its election program to the knowledge of everyone. [end recording]

We are waiting to receive information on the news conference of the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress and will keep you informed.

ASO Says Delegates' Election 'Manipulated'

AU2601193190 Sofia BTA in English 1453 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Faction of the BCP Sounds the Alarm Before BCP Extraordinary Congress"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 26 January (BTA)—Representatives of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO), a faction of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] believe that the elections of delegates for the BCP Extraordinary Congress have been manipulated. Associate Prof. Nikolay Vasilev, leader of the faction, refused to be elected as congress delegate in a commune determined "from the above" and went to a meeting at which the same issue was posed by the rank party members. At that meeting, however, he not only was not elected delegate, but was pronounced "enemy" after which was removed from the work of the conference.

At today's press conference with leaders of ASO, some of whom are members of the Central Commission for Preparation of the Extraordinary Congress, the opinion was expressed, that the regulations about the delegates' election provides possibilities for the manipulation of these elections.

The growing popularity of ASO and of the reformers' ideological trends in the BCP irritates the conservative forces in the party, as it was said at the press conference. In this relation the need was stressed to unite the reformers forces of the congress.

At the Central Commission for Preparation of the Congress a strong ideological struggle is taking place and in the declarative part of the report under preparation important formulations have been included among which are the ones that the congress stands for radical reforms and that the party denies democratic centralism. A concern is also expressed over the present state of the Bulgarian society and the atmosphere in the BCP.

Yet the facts related with the manipulation of the elections for delegates, the already published manifesto and statute of the BCP, the intolerance of part of the party members raise vague hopes that the Extraordinary Congress will be one of renewal, it was stressed at the press conference.

UDF's Zhelev Sees Congress as 'Conservative'

AU0202091090 Sofia BTA in English 0903 GMT 2 Feb 90

["What Does the Opposition Think About the BCP Congress?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—The congress is a conservative one. Most of the delegates do not wish or are

afraid of changes, said today in an interview with OTECHESTVEN FRONT Zhelyo Zhelev, the leader of the opposition.

He admits the ideological evolution of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], which showed in the report. At the same time, however, he believes that most of the ideas: about the civic society, the dismantling of the totalitarian state, of political pluralism, of equal relation to ownership, belong to the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS). They had been first raised in the rallies' slogans. But the union will have nothing against the realization by the Communist Party of what has been raised by these slogans, and even of the whole political programme of the opposition.

Dr Zhelev thinks that the traditional conservatism had its say at the congress. Major sign for that is the raising of the idea for socialism.

The opposition leader accuses the BCP in a lack of courage to change its name and in unwillingness to subject to severe critical analysis its past. "It still does not admit that it is a party which failed historically and struggled for the realization of an utopic idea but attained an ugly political reality."

Zhelev accepts the possibility that the Alternative Socialist Organization (ASO), a faction in the party can set up after the congress in a party due to the conservatism of some of the delegates. He was also impressed by the differentiation of a province, more conservative and backward and a capital, where the people are more radical. There is yet another trend to be observed, the contradiction between intellectuals and working people, as well as between other social groups.

Asked if the membership of Communists in the SDS is in contradiction to future political processes, Zhelev answered that until recently when there was not an opposition, membership in two places looked contradictory. But these people are now facing a complex dilemma. For many of them it is a question of time to join us, the SDS chairman said. Most of these people, according to him are young.

I am not expecting significant changes at the roundtable, said Zhelyo Zhelev at the end of the interview. Even if the conservatives are to come to the forefront they will not eliminate it. Otherwise they will isolate themselves from Europe.

The round is "doomed" to agreement, said the SDS secretary and coordinator.

Official Denies Rumor of Zhivkov's Death

AU0202130290 Sofia BTA in English
1230 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Zhivkov Is Alive"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—Todor Khristov Zhivkov who is on remand is alive, Colonel Leonid Katsamunski, head of the Chief Investigative Board in Bulgaria, told today at 1230 hours local time [1030 GMT] BTA reporter in reply to allegations that the former dictator had died.

All necessary measures have been taken to preserve the health of Todor Zhivkov. The investigation launched against him is continuing with inquiries and other actions by a group of prosecutors from the Chief Prosecutor's Office of Bulgaria.

There have been searches at houses of relatives of Zhivkov, who are providing explanations about the origin of the movable and immovable property. The source did not elaborate further.

The investigation against Ivan Slavkov, Zhivkov's son-in-law, done by the Chief Investigative Board, is in full progress.

Zhivkov's Son-in-Law Faces Criminal Charges

AU2901181690 Sofia BTA in English
1633 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Preliminary investigative proceedings have been initiated against Todor Zhivkov's son-in-law Ivan Slavkov, president of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee and member of the International Olympic Committee, the Prosecutor General's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria announced today. Mr Slavkov is charged with illegal possession of a large quantity of firearms found in his home, with receiving considerable remunerations on questionable legal grounds and with malfeasance in office.

A preliminary inquiry was also launched against ex-Politburo Member Milko Balev who faces charges of malfeasance in office and misappropriation of public property. The investigation has been assigned to a prosecutor of the Prosecutor General's Office.

The announcement says that the ousted leader Todor Zhivkov is held in the "remand prison of the Criminal Investigation Department." In view of his age and health condition, he is undergoing expert medical examinations. He and the members of his family are being questioned and their homes are being searched. Expert appraisals have been ordered of their movable and immovable property and of his and his family income.

The Prosecutor General's Office requests the cooperation of all state and public organisations and individuals who possess information and data in connection with the investigations against the said persons.

The announcement of the prosecutor general's office does not make it clear whether Ivan Slavkov and Milko Balev are under arrest.

Former King Simeon Sees 'Unique Chance'

AU0202082590 Sofia BTA in English 0810 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Former Monarch on Changes in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—The developments in Bulgaria show an excellent, even surprising maturity, said the former Bulgarian Tsar Simeon in the interview given to OTECHESTVEN FRONT, which the paper published today. In his view the authorities proved to be more flexible than it could be expected at such a moment and the opposition more patient and not pushing its demands too far. According to Simeon Bulgaria has a unique chance to suddenly show herself as much more developed and with a more democratic spirit than other countries.

In the former monarch's opinion the election of Petur Mladenov's election to the position of head of state is very felicitous.

Speaking about Bulgaria's place in Europe, Simeon noted that the country should pursue a policy of active neutrality. As geographically it is the closest to the Soviet Union (one of the great powers), the country's relations with the USSR should be upheld and advanced.

Simeon said that all citizens will find the idea of democratic socialism satisfactory if it is viewed in a practical and rational way by placing before all the people's interests and the national interests of the country.

Democratic Union Agrees to May Elections

AU3101114590 Sofia BTA in English 1123 GMT 31 Jan 90

["UDF Agrees on Elections in May"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) will agree with the proposal of the ruling parties to hold the first free parliamentary elections in May. This announcement was made today on Radio Sofia by the representative of the UDF, Prof Petur Beron.

We decided to give our consent for holding the elections in May because there many pressing problems which the present National Assembly is unable to solve, he said.

The time the elections should be held was the main point of controversy in the positions of the sides participating in the round table. Until yesterday the representatives of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the public organizations supporting them wanted to hold the parliamentary elections in May, while the opposition insisted that they should be postponed for November to have time to organize its campaign, especially outside Sofia.

Obviously the grave economic problems, the resistance of the administration to the first attempts at radical solutions and especially the hundreds of strikes all over the country in January made the UDF member-parties and organizations change their mind.

Prof. Beron announced that if the present cabinet resigns, the UDF will refuse to participate in the Provisional Government of National Consensus formed before the elections.

The representative of the UDF stated that at the next session of the round table talks to be held on February 6 the opposition will insist on the National Assembly's adopting immediately a Law of the Land to avoid hampering agricultural work in spring.

Trade Minister Shpatov Explains Food Shortage

AU3101130390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jan 90 p 4

[Statement by Ivan Shpatov, minister of domestic trade, to unnamed BTA reporter: "Shortage of Some Basic Consumer Goods" in Sofia on 24 January]

[Text] Sofia, 24 January (BTA)—There is an increasing shortage of numerous basic consumer goods in our stores. Sugar, butter, cheese, eggs, baby food, yellow cheese, meat, flour, sausages, and other foodstuffs, let alone industrial goods, such as television sets, refrigerators, stoves, lamps, footwear, and clothing, seem to disappear altogether from our stores at times. The irregular supplies of consumer goods and foodstuffs force the citizens to overstock their larders.

A BTA reporter asked Ivan Shpatov, minister of domestic trade, to explain the shortage of basic consumer goods. He answered as follows:

It is a fact that several goods are in short supply in Sofia and in many other areas of our country. There are various reasons for this shortage, but they have one feature in common, namely the fact that production has diminished. The shortage of milk, butter, yellow cheese, all other cheese varieties, and other milk products is caused by a considerable reduction of supplies on the domestic market and by the failure to fulfill contractual obligations. A total of 109,503,000 liters of milk less than envisioned were purchased in 1989. The purchased milk amounts in 1990 are expected to be at the level of 1989, which represents 33,860,000 liters less than in 1988. This made it necessary already by the end of 1989, on the basis of a government decision, to import 2,500 tonnes of milk fats and 2,000 tonnes of powder milk, while our cheese exports had to stop. We expect to import 3,500 tonnes more milk fats, 2,000 tonnes more powder milk, and other goods in the first quarter of 1990. This will guarantee the necessary amounts of milk and milk products for our population's needs. Sugar sales were interrupted all over the country. Several enterprises producing soft drinks, sugar products, sweets, canned fruit, and other goods have interrupted their work. The first ship loaded with unprocessed sugar has already arrived, and we are expecting another such

ship, as a result of which our sugar supplies should be normalized. Coffee is also in short supply in certain places. This is caused by different reasons. Raw coffee in beans is available throughout the country and supplies would be sufficient for a year, but difficulties have emerged in connection with roasting caused by the Sofia BILKOKOOP enterprise. Nevertheless, coffee supplies are already returning to normal and it is absolutely unnecessary to purchase 2-3 kilograms at once, as a result of which a daily average of 20 tons of coffee is being sold!

Unfortunately, the trade sector itself is rsponsible for the shortage of certain goods. This applies to the shortage of flour, salt, and some pasta products that occurs on certain days in the capital and other parts of the country. We have sufficient supplies of these goods, but some of our trade and transportation organizations allow for delays in the transport of the goods to the stores. Considering that that interruptions of sales related to any commodity whatsoever result in greatly increased demand, the results of the situation are more than eloquent.

We are also encountering difficulties on the market related to the sale of certain mass consumer goods. The basic reason for this is that many production enterprises and companies, especially in the light industry sector, have failed to fulfill their plans and their contractual obligations toward the domestic market.

We are doing everything within our power to ensure the contracts with respective producers' companies and enterprises in order to ensure the necessary commodity supplies of the population. Unfortunately, several producers of goods have failed to sign contracts with the trade organizations for this year regarding goods that are in great demand. The problems of the market are of great social importance, especially under the present circumstances of a particularly tense political and economic situation. For this reason the government has adopted measures aimed at organizing the production of necessary industrial and agricultural products, while imports of certain goods that are in short supply have already been provided for.

The conclusion is evident: It is necessary to work and to produce in order to fill our stores with supplies!

State Council Decree on Depolitization of Army

AU3101125390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Decree No. 126 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on Creating Educational Work Organs in the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Militia, the Troops of the Ministries and Departments, and the Fire Brigade"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 93, paragraph 16 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has issued

Decree No. 126

On creating organs for educational work in the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the troops of the ministries and departments, the People's Militia, and the Fire Brigade.

1. Organs for conducting educational activity among the soldiers and the military personnel are established as of 15 February 1990 in the armed troops of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the troops of the ministries and departments, the People's Militia, and the Fire Brigade. Their basic task will be to educate the soldiers and employees in a patriotic spirit for achieving a state of constant readiness to defend the sovereignty of the motherland and the peaceful work of the people.

2. The specific tasks, structure, and composition of the organs of educational work must be approved, respectively, by the minister of national defense, the minister of internal affairs, the minister of transportation, the head of the main political administration of the Construction Troops, and the chairman of the Committee on Communications and Information Science.

3. New study programs for educational work, coordinated with the aforementioned basic task, are to be worked out and introduced in the troops and military training establishments.

4. Organizations of political parties and the various associations of the citizens cannot be established in the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the troops of the ministries and departments, the People's Militia, and the Fire Brigade.

5. The soldiers of the Armed Forces and the employees of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, except for those on fixed terms of service, may be members of political parties and associations in accordance with their selection and convictions at their places of residence. They do not have the right to transfer their activity aimed at accomplishing their goals to the Armed Forces and the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The minister of national defense, the minister of internal affairs, the minister of transportation, the head of the main administration of the Construction Troops, and the chairman of the Committee on Communications and Information Science are responsible for the implementation of this decree.

Petur Mladenov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Nikola Manolov Secretary of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Interior Ministry Comment

AU2901170190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Jan 90 p 2

[BTA report: "Guarantee of Absolute Priority of Professional Duty"]

[Text] The platform of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that was announced at the 13th National Assembly session pointed out that profound importance has been attributed to the principle of independence of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs vis-a-vis the political parties and their total subjugation to the legislative and executive branches.

Such a position also was expressed by Communists during the district [name of district not pointed out] conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and was incorporated as a separate decision in the political resolution that was adopted.

The decision on disbanding the BCP committees and organizations, the organizations of the Dimitrov Komsomol, and the political organs in the Border Troops, the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the People's Militia, and the Fire Brigade is a specific expression of this position of the ministry.

This, of course, should not be considered any infringement upon the rights of the employees of the ministry to adhere to ideological convictions. In accordance with the practice that exists in many places, including in the West, the membership of the cadres of such services in political parties takes part outside their place of work. They are members of organizations at their places of residence, or in clubs, organized on political or other bases.

Such an approach guarantees the absolute priority of implementing the professional duty.

In accordance with Decree No. 126 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 24 January 1990, organizations of political parties and various public associations of the citizens cannot be founded at the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and its units are a component of the society's political-state organization, and they cannot be apolitical.

The implementation of their functions requires from the personnel that they educate themselves in a spirit of readiness to implement their patriotic duty related to defending the interests of the motherland and the Bulgarian citizens' rights and freedoms. It is necessary to elevate the professionalism of the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to a new level and develop lofty moral fiber and moral qualities in the spirit of the universal values.

Springing from this objective necessity, the decree envisions that, as of 15 February 1990, educational work organs will be created in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the country's Armed Forces.

Their specific tasks, structure, and composition will be determined in accordance with an order of the minister of internal affairs.

Politics Barred From Army

AU2901170390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Jan 90 p 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Declaration of the Ministry of National Defense: 'Patriotic Spirit and Readiness to Defend the Motherland'"]

[Text] The political organs and the party and Komsomol organizations in the Armed Forces have been disbanded on the basis of decision No. 18 of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] of 24 January 1990. Decree No. 126 of the State Council of 24 January 1990 on creating organs of educational work among the soldiers and employees of the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has also been published. Their basic task is to educate the personnel in the spirit of patriotism and constant readiness to defend the sovereignty of the motherland and the peaceful work of the people.

Disbanding the political organs and the party and Komsomol organizations in the Bulgarian People's Army is yet another proof of the fact that the BCP has relinquished the monopoly of power, and of the consistency of the democratic changes that are taking place in our country.

This decision fully corresponds to repealing paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and is dictated by the necessity to preserve the unity and monolithic character of the Bulgarian People's Army. With the establishment of the multiparty system in the country, it is impossible to allow every party to construct its organization in the Army and conduct political propaganda there. This would negatively affect the troops' combat ability and discipline.

The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense understands very well that by implementing this decision a difficult and painful step is being made, because the political organs, and the party and Komsomol organizations, for more than 40 years implemented important functions and made a significant contribution to strengthening the combat ability of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Now, at the new situation that emerged, the attention of the military personnel must be directed first of all toward increasing the quality aspect of the combat readiness and the troops' comprehensive training, so that it is ready to defend the national interests of the Bulgarian people and the territorial integrity and inviolability of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In the future, the Bulgarian People's Army will solely be guided by the country's Constitution, the orders of the higher state and military leadership, and the national military doctrine. The comprehensive activity related to constructing and developing the Bulgarian People's Army will be fully under the control of the National Assembly.

The re-enlisted generals, officers, sergeants, and petty officers, and hired military employees, as citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, may enjoy their constitutional rights, and, as all citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, they may be members of political parties and associations at their places of residence, according to their selection and convictions. There they will provide a personal example, and with their conscious discipline, selfless labor, high moral and ethics, and unity between words and deeds, they will contribute to resolving the tasks related to constructing a really humane, socialist, and democratic society in our country.

The practice of military personnel participating in the sociopolitical life outside the Army exists in many other countries.

The educational work within the Bulgarian People's Army will be conducted in a spirit of loyalty to the revolutionary and patriotic traditions of the Bulgarian people and their Army, for forming lasting humane and military virtues, and in the spirit of friendship and cooperation with the other armies of the Warsaw Pact.

The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense expresses conviction that all soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army will accept the decision of the Politburo and the decree of the State Council with deep understanding, and will work also in the future ever more selflessly and diligently for ensuring the reliable defense of our motherland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

First Opposition Newspaper Published

AU0102145090 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 1 Feb 90

["First Opposition Newspaper Comes Out"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—After a 43-year-break, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party today resumed publication of its newspaper SVOBODEN NAROD (FREE PEOPLE). The first opposition periodical proved a smashing success: the 100,000-copy press run was an instant sell-out at the newsstands and is passed from hand to hand.

The paper leads with coverage of the January 5, 1990 revival of the party under the heading "No Socialism Without Democracy". "A party, the party of Bulgarian social democrats, is coming back to life after a more than forty-year-long forcible absence from Bulgaria's political scene," the report says.

The masthead lists the names of the party's prominent activists Kosta Lulchev (arrested in 1948, tried on "fantastic charges" and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, served 11 years and died in 1965) and Tsveti Ivanov (confined in 1948 to the Belene Camp where he died in 1950). Mr Ruen Krumov, 76, the director of the revived SVOBODEN NAROD, edited the newspaper before it was banned 43 years ago.

SVOBODEN NAROD carries the November 15, 1989 resolution whereby the National Assembly rehabilitated the senior activists of the Social Democratic Party who were tried and subjected to politically motivated repressions. The resolution condemns the crackdowns after January 1, 1946, describing them as a gross violation of parliamentary democracy and invasion of the citizens' constitutional rights.

Mr Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International, has cabled best wishes for success in the great tasks of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, which is affiliated to that international organization.

SVOBODEN NAROD editorializes on the changes by which "almost all Communist Parties in Eastern Europe want to pose as socialist or social democratic ones."

The Bulgarian social democrats declare themselves in favor of free elections, political and economic pluralism and guaranteed human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The SVOBODEN NAROD weekly will have a one-time circulation of 50,000. Owing to the intense interest, No. 1 was printed in twice that number, and the next issue will appear on February 14 to keep the paper within its newsprint quota.

Opinion Poll Held on Party Preferences

AU3101202290

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 29 January on page 3 carries a 3,000-word report, entitled "The Public Opinion and the Political Moods in Bulgaria," on an opinion poll conducted "from 15 to 20 January 1990 by a scientific collective formed at the Sociology Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences." The introduction states that "the study is representative for the population in Bulgaria aged from 16 to 69 years," and that 2,675 persons were questioned. The 12 questions are then listed, with the replies analyzed as percentages. In the cases of questions 1-4, 6, and 7, the respondents were required to register in one of three columns their approval, disapproval, or indifference with regard to the question.

Question 1 asked "What is your attitude toward the following politicians?" A list of 23 political figures follows, in order of their popularity among the respondents, expressed as a percentage. The most popular figure was Defense Minister Dobri Dzhurov (77.7 percent), followed by Petur Mladenov (65.9 percent),

Stanko Todorov (56.6 percent), Andrey Lukanov (55 percent), Aleksandur Lilov (52 percent), Petur Beron of Ecoglasnost (48.2 percent), Finance Minister Belcho Belchev (45.8 percent), and Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) (39.7 percent). Premier Georgi Atanasov was approved of by only 30 percent.

Question 2 asked "What is your attitude to the activity of the following political parties and organizations?" and the results are again given in order of popularity. The most popular party or organization was Ecoglasnost (58.2 percent), followed by the Committee for National Reconciliation (52.2 percent), the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS) (48.8 percent), and then the Bulgarian Communist Party (47.6 percent). Various independent movements obtained votes of approval in the 40-50 percent range, while the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation was approved of by 29.3 percent, and the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was at the bottom of the list with 23.9 percent.

Question 3 concerned the popularity of certain state institutions; most popular was the Army, with 76.8 percent approving it, and least popular were "the local organs of state power" (with 38.5 percent approving, and 37.8 percent disapproving).

Question 4 related to the mass media. Most popular was the Bulgarian Radio (approved of by 77.9 percent), followed by the television (75.5 percent), TRUD newspaper (62.3 percent), then RABOTNICHESKO DELO (58 percent).

Asked in Question 5 which party they would vote for if elections were held today, the percentage results were as follows: BCP, 30.2 percent; UDF, 13.6 percent; BZNS, 8.7 percent; and the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests (4 percent), followed by other minor parties. Of the respondents, 24 percent said their vote would depend on the personal qualities and views of the particular candidate, not on his party, and 5.2 percent would not vote.

In response to Question 6, on attitudes to needed political reforms, the most popular measure was "direct election of the head of state" (80.4 percent), followed by "economic, political, and cultural drawing together with the West European countries (78.5 percent), entry into the EEC (75.4 percent), and disbanding political organizations at places of work (64.9 percent). The least popular proposals were for Bulgaria to leave the Warsaw Pact (13.4 percent for, 63.8 percent against), and restoration of capitalism (11.1 percent for, 69.9 percent against).

Question 7 asked views on various economic reforms. Most popular were the elimination of loss-making enterprises (80 percent) and a general wage increase for all (71.6 percent); only 11.6 percent approved of increasing prices in order to eliminate the deficit.

In reply to Question 8, on land ownership, 47 percent preferred "predominantly cooperative ownership," 20.8 percent did not know, 20.2 percent were for "predominantly private ownership," and 11.9 percent for "predominantly state ownership."

In answer to Question 9, 71.2 percent thought that the maximum difference between the lowest and highest wages or salaries should not exceed 300 percent, while 15 percent wanted no restrictions.

Question 10 asked for views on whether "the political changes in the last 2 months will lead to a better life," 34.4 percent replied yes, 4.8 percent no, and 35.8 percent thought it was too early to say. In answer to Question 11, whether "Bulgarians would be living in a better society in 30 years time," 35.8 percent thought yes, 12.4 percent no, and 51.6 percent could not say.

Question 12, the last question, asked, "Has the idea of socialism any future?" The replies were: "Yes, if its real content is realized" (27.2 percent); "yes, if it is brought radically up to date" (30.5 percent); "no, the very idea of socialism is wrong" (15.2 percent); and "it is difficult to judge" (27 percent).

The results of the poll are followed by a 1,200-word general interpretation.

UDF Declaration on Foreign Economic Relations

AU0102215890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Miroslav Gruychev, from the Organizational Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], is in our studio. He will read a declaration issued by the UDF:

[Gruychev] The UDF understands the necessity of obtaining foreign credits for saving our economy. It is clear that without economic assistance from the West, Bulgaria will find it difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the impending economic catastrophe. Therefore, we categorically support such assistance and think that our activities are contributing to this goal. However, the means received from outside must serve the real needs of the people. They should be subjected to a total public control.

The credits must be utilized for investments in specific productions, enterprises, and companies, on the basis of contracts between them and the relevant financial-credit institute.

Credits for urgent humanitarian needs, such as baby food, medicines, and so forth, must receive an important place. The practice up to now, according to which billions of dollars were invested in our wasteful, quote, planned socialist economy, unquote, and disappeared as water in the sand, must not be repeated. The result was pathetic: Instead of progress and prosperity, we have a

ruined economy and an accumulated foreign debt of $10-12 billion that hangs on our people's neck as a millstone.

The government must explain to the Bulgarian people how and for what were those billions used, the degree of the economic system's responsibility, and the personal responsibility of certain representatives of the nomenklatura class.

The UDF thinks that the credit policy, including the foreign credits, cannot be aimed at stabilizing the present economic structures and the existing socioeconomic system. It must be subjected to specific measures related to modern market economy. Therefore, we believe that the credit policy must be related to the development of the democratic transformations in the country, which are the only guarantee of effectively utilizing the credits.

[Dated] Sofia, 1 February 1990.

Bush Troop Cut Proposals Possible 'Good Omen'

LD0202074690 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] On Wednesday [31 January] evening, President Bush delivered his traditional state of the Union message, or was it really that much traditional? We have a comment by Radio Prague's Vaclav Kvasnicka:

The State of the Union message delivered by President Bush unveiled much of the secrecy shrouding this mysterious telephone conversation with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev earlier that same day. It came to light that Bush had informed the Soviet leader about his plan for substantive cuts in both U.S. and Soviet forces deployed in Central Europe. Already last year, the White House had announced it was reducing its troops in the region to about 250,000. Now, the President proposes a reduction to about 195,000 on each side. At the same time, the United States would be willing to dismantle nine of its military bases in Europe, and cut others to size, which looks like a very constructive reaction to the turbulent changes in Eastern Europe, and to talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Also, Washington is meeting halfway the Western demands for NATO to react more flexibly to the processes in Europe, now dominated by the changes in its Eastern half.

These aspects of the latest American disarmament initiative could be a good omen for the program of rebuilding Europe on a new, far more solid foundation. They will doubtlessly project favorably into the Vienna talks on conventional weapons in the whole of Europe. At the same time, the Bush initiative stengthens mutual trust in Europe, and gives a powerful boost to efforts to reshape NATO and the Warsaw Pact into instruments of political cooperation. Such development is highly desirable, especially as regards the prospect of eliminating Europe's division into blocs.

Soviet Envoy Gives Gorbachev Message to Havel

LD0102120190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, received Soviet Ambassador Viktor Lomakin at Prague Castle today.

The ambassador handed him a personal message from the highest Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, which stresses the importance of President Havel's upcoming visit to the Soviet Union for the further development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The president and the ambassador also discussed the agenda and objectives of the coming visit and they agreed that it could take place at the end of February.

Slimak Cites Stance for NATO-Pact Seminar

AU2301165390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jan 90 pp 1,7

[Interview with Major General Anton Slimak, first deputy minister of defense, by PRAVDA editor Jozef Janto, in Vienna; date not given: "The Army's Sole Purpose Is Defense; Interviewing the Head of CSSR's Military Delegation to the Vienna Talks"]

[Text] As we know, the fifth round of two disarmament forums opened in Vienna's Hofburg palace a few days ago—namely, the talks of 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states on the conventional disarmament on our continent, and the negotiations of 35 countries participating in the CSCE, better known as talks on confidence-building and security measures. A seminar on military doctrines is being held from 16 January to 5 February within the framework of this latter forum; it is attended by delegations of high-ranking army personnel, headed by the chiefs of general staffs. The head of the CSSR delegation to this seminar is Major General Anton Slimak, CSSR's first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the general staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA]. He granted Czechoslovak Radio Bratislava and the PRAVDA daily an interview in Vienna.

He began by stressing that this is the first time in history that such a meeting is being held. The Czechoslovak side is thoroughly prepared for it; it believes that this representative, high-level military gathering will lay the foundations for further contacts between military experts and that it will significantly contribute toward removing the danger of a military confrontation. One of the Czechoslovak delegation's tasks will be to explain the essential features of our defensive military doctrine.

This doctrine was to have been approved last year, the chief of the CSLA general staff went on to say. In connection with the preparations for this seminar, the doctrine was considered by the Federal Government Presidium and is now being worked out further, in keeping with the continuing domestic political changes. However, it can be said that, in the military-political sphere, we have taken into account both the current developments in Europe and the new orientation of our foreign policy. **As for the second, military- technical part of our military doctrine, we are consistently developing its defensive character, by, among other things, reducing the offensive arms systems in the CSLA.** For instance, by the end of this year, we will have taken out of service 850 tanks, i.e. 20 percent of the total number, as well as 51 fighter planes and 165 armored personnel vehicles. We are reducing the offensive structures even further: Thus, if a tank division used to have three tank regiments and one motorized infantry regiment, it now has two tank regiments and one motorized infantry regiment. We also want to take out of service the means for crossing waterways, and to gradually stop tank production.

In his statement at the seminar, Major General A. Slimak announced, inter alia, that by 1 February we will have cut down the forces and means for accomplishing combat tasks within set deadlines in the frontline divisions, the Air Force, and the units of our state's antiair defense to one-third of their present strength; this year we will call up for military exercises 90,000 reserve soldiers less than in the preceding years; and, as is also known, we are preparing an amendment to the law on military service which would substantially shorten the length of basic national service.

As for the further developments to be expected along these lines, he replied that this is merely the beginning, that everything will depend on the results of disarmament negotiations in Vienna and, naturally, also on the changes in our Constitution.

—When speaking of our state's defensive doctrine, we obviously do not mean that we are incapable of providing for the state's defense. We are training our army in harmony with the development of the situation in Europe, since for the time being we cannot afford a unilateral disarmament. I have said as much in my statement at the seminar, and my words were received positively by all the participants, he stressed.

Asked whether any bilateral talks are being held at the seminar, the chief of the CSLA general staff stated that the Czechoslovak delegation is making use of its time especially for meeting the delegations of our neighboring countries which are interested in the current processes in our Army. Thus, Major General A. Slimak has already met General O. Tauschitz, inspector general of the Austrian Army; Admiral Dieter Welershoff, inspector general of the Bundeswehr; and Army General Heinz Haesler, chief of staff of the Swiss Armed Forces. His negotiations with Colin L. Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, were different; at lunchtime the day before yesterday [17 January], they were attended by the heads of delegations from several Warsaw Pact states. During the next few days the chief of the CSLA general staff will also meet the chiefs of the general staffs of France, Canada, Belgium, Finland, and Greece.

Asked about the results of the first 2 days of the seminar, he said that the participants—including those from neutral countries— have agreed in their view that armies are at present inevitable for defense, as an attribute of every sovereign state. All 35 chiefs of general staffs have stressed that their armies could be potentially used only for the purposes of defense.

We also discussed other problems with Major General A. Slimak, such as the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the CSSR. Since these matters are still at the stage of negotiations, in this context it is necessary to wait for their results. However, he concluded by stating that at the beginning of the seminar he had met Mikhail Moiseyev, USSR's first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the general staff of the Soviet Army, and the chiefs of the general staffs of other Warsaw Pact states. During their meeting it was stated that they would speak frankly at the seminar, among other things about the substance of our mutual agreements within the framework of the Warsaw Pact organization.

Newspapers Survey Soviet Troop Presence Issues

AU3001084090

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 23 January on pages 1 and 2 and on 24 January on page 1 publishes in two installments a 1,300- word interview with two commanders of Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia. Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 24 January both publish correspondents' reports on a demonstration by Vysoke Myto residents held on 23 January, demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the city.

The ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY interview with the Soviet commanders was conducted by Frantisek Lauer in Milovice, the headquarters of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia, on 22 January. Lauer's interview partners are Major General Gennadiy Proposhchev, first deputy chief of staff of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, and Colonel Yuriy Arskiy, the group's "political worker."

In the interview, Proposhev first "fully supports" the recent Soviet Government statement on the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and says that the situation should have been dealt with by political means. He assesses as "positive" the recently opened talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, emphasizing that the Soviet side "is not opposed" to a withdrawal. Asked whether he believes that the withdrawal can be completed this year, as demanded by the Czechoslovak side, Proposhev says: "We realize that the aim of the talks is the withdrawal of our troops. We understand this. We will hand over to you, the Czechoslovak people, everything that we have acquired and built here. We will hand it over intact. We will leave as friends. Although the deadlines of the withdrawal have yet to be negotiated, it needs to be considered that, if the whole [central] group is to be withdrawn, it must happen in a humane way, taking account of the fact that entire families with children are here. My opinion is that everything should run its course in 1 and ½ or 2 years. This is necessary to head off unnecessary damage." Speaking about apartments occupied by Soviet soldiers, Proposhev reiterates that all of them will be handed over to the Czechoslovak side, including those "built from our own resources, which is the case of roughly one-half of our housing stock." In his concluding statement, Proposhev stresses that the Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia never interfered in Czechoslovak affairs; in this context he also denies rumors about Soviet troops being in "heightened combat alert" in the period immediately after 17 November. He

says: "We have never placed the troops on combat alert. I am saying this with full responsibility as a member of the supreme command."

Colonel Arskiy's statements concern the relationship between the Soviet troops and Czechoslovak citizens. He assures the Czechoslovak public that the Soviet troops will do everything "to leave a good impression." In this context he observes that "some of the information about us is not exactly friendly. The Soviet Army and our entire country are being attacked, often unobjectively. It seems that it suits someone fine when seeds of contention are sown.... I believe that in this situation one should not forget that it was the Soviet soldier who liberated Czechoslovakia in 1945 and that 145,000 of them died here."

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 24 January on page 5 carries a 1,000-word article by Jan Kastanek entitled "Protest Action by Vysoke Myto Citizens," dealing with a demonstration staged by residents of that East Bohemian city the preceding day against the presence of the Soviet garrison there. On the basis of a news conference with representatives of the local authorities which preceded the demonstration, Kastanek summarizes the local population's grievances about the Soviet troops. According to the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE reporter, the locals complain about "the increasing number of traffic accidents, house burglaries, and other offenses caused by Soviet troops in the city." They also blame them for the housing shortage in the city because "besides three Army barracks, one hospital, and other property, Soviet troops occupy 262 city apartments, plus an additional 500 housing units that were built for their officers." Furthermore, the reporter writes, the Soviet troops are being accused of maintaining an unguarded fuel depot in a protected water zone, of having destroyed 400 hectares of forests, and of being responsible for the "catastrophic condition" of the Lucna river. In connection with the expected departure of the troops, the city is also said to be faced with "raids" on its shops, during which "Soviet soldiers and members of their families buy up, above all, articles which are in short supply."

Similar charges are raised also in a 400-word "la"-signed report on the VYSOKE MYTO demonstration, published in Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 24 January on page 2. According to the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY report, the "Soviet Army has willfully preempted more than 50 hectares of high-quality agricultural land," has erected a number of buildings without applying for a building permit, and is responsible for "large-scale poaching in rivers and forests." The reporter mentions that, although the exact number of Soviet soldiers stationed in Vysoke Myto is a "military secret," locals say that the "number of soldiers is at least as high as the number of VYSOKE MYTO residents"—that is, 12,000.

Talks With Soviet Military End in 'Deadlock'

LD3101213590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] There are great problems with the movement of Soviet military technology along public communication routes in the Olomouc district. Pavel Smid has sent a dispatch from today's talks about these questions:

[Smid] The only actual result of today's complicated deliberations is the decision that Soviet heavy tanks will now not leave the military area of (Libava) for repair shops in the barracks in the center of Olomouc. Although this was one of the more or less important points of the meeting, which was attended by a delegation from the Soviet garrison and by representatives of the district National Committee, the Union of Students of Czechoslovakia from Palacky University, civic initiatives of the town, as well as those of Velka Bystrice—the village which is suffering most from the movement of military technology, particularly tanks. There was also some talk about the availability of certain kinds of goods in retail shops, about the impatiently awaited vacating of apartments. In Olomouc alone this should be 1,500 apartments and another 300 in other parts of the district.

Finally, the talks on further movements of technology ended in deadlock owing to mutual mistrust. Thus it appears that marked progress on the question of the stay of Soviet troops, not only here in Olomouc district but on the entire territory of our republic, will only be achieved after the talks between President Vaclav Havel and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Soviet Official Calls Troop Presence 'Valid'

LD0102123190 Prague CTK in English 1108 GMT 1 Feb 90

["Czechoslovakia Demands Soviet Troops Withdrawn by End of Year"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—The question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is the affair of two states that take necessary steps, Major-General Gennadiy Proposhchev, deputy chief of staff of the central group of Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia, has told CTK.

He replied to the question of the CTK news agency whether a possible political defeat of Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union would threaten the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

Asked about the validity of the treaty on the temporary stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, which the Czechoslovak Government considers invalid, Soviet Government commissioner for questions of the temporary stay, Colonel Aleksey Belousov said that the 1968 treaty is valid.

"If somebody questions its validity he puts it on the only argument that the entry of troops took place before the treaty was signed", he said and added: "The stay of the Soviet troops by no means violates the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia. All expenses are paid by the Soviet Government. The Soviet troops are obliged to respect Czechoslovak laws. The treaty is based on the principle of friendship, cooperation and ensuring mutual security".

Czech Minister Views Soviet Forces' Pollution

LD0102224590 Prague CTK in English 1305 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—The rectification of mistakes and damage in Czechoslovakia's living environment is a long-term process that will develop hand in hand with the birth of new social and economic laws, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Frantisek Reichel said at a press conference here today.

Frantisek Reichel, who is also chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technological Development and Investments, said that Czechoslovakia will start to use the systems and norms used in the European communities.

As regards international cooperation in ecology, he pointed to an offer of the Austrian Government concerning mainly new technologies, to the recent talks with Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and prepared talks with the FRG. Still this year, steps aimed at establishing joint national parks on the borders with Austria will be taken, and opening of further crossings for hikers is being considered.

Czech Minister for the Living Environment Bedrich Moldan said at the press conference that it is necessary to reconsider all big investments that are under construction or planned in view of possible risks for the living environment.

Asked by a British journalist about environmental protection at the places where Soviet troops are stationed, Bedrich Moldan said that the national committees of the towns in the vicinity of these places are complaining about severe contamination of underground waters and there are considerable fears of dumps of dangerous waste.

An order has been given to the national committees to take more energetic steps still before the withdawal of the Soviet troops, Bedrich Moldan said.

Frantisek Reichel added that in principle, this question will be discussed during Czechoslovak-Soviet talks in the future.

Dienstbier, Genscher Hold Talks in Nuremberg

LD0102231590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak and FRG foreign ministers, Jiri Dienstbier and Hans Dietrich-Genscher, have adopted a statement in Nuremberg on opening further border crossings, as well as a statement on the founding of the German-Czechoslovak Commission of Historians. This was reported at a press conference given by the press secretaries of the two Foreign Ministries, Lubos Dobrovsky and Juergen Chrobog.

An important issue in the first part of the Czechoslovak-West German talks was the simplification of the visa system. Lubos Dobrovsky stressed that our government is making maximum efforts to do away with visas—completely, if possible, and as soon as possible. In the humanitarian sphere, the Czechoslovak delegation considers as significant the question of the fate of asylum-seekers who have helped to improve the political situation in our country but who are in a sense jeopardized in their social existence. For the time being the federal government should enable them, as Austria does, to pay at least one visit a year to their homeland.

Further on Talks

LD0202072590 Prague CTK in English 2145 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Nuremberg Feb 1 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stated here today that his current talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher are developing very well.

He pointed out that Czechoslovakia's will is clear—to develop relations with the FRG as relations between two neighbouring friendly countries.

He also pointed out the long-standing traditions which link Nuremberg with Czechoslovakia and stressed that after 40 years all roads that connect Czechoslovakia and Bavaria can now be opened again.

Genscher stressed that a visit of the foreign minister of a new democratic Czechoslovakia is currently taking place in the FRG. He emphasized Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's great contribution to the new spirit in Europe and said that a new epoch in ties between Czechoslovakia and the FRG as well as in contacts in Europe in general is opened up.

Statement Described

LD0202103290 Prague CTK in English 0124 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Nuremberg Feb 1 (CTK Correspondent)—Foreign Ministers Jiri Dienstbier of Czechoslovakia and Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany met here today for talks focusing on closer links between the two countries.

Spokesmen for the two countries' Foreign Ministries Lubos Dobrovsky of Czechoslovakia and Juergen Chrobog of West Germany stated that the two ministers adopted a statement on the opening of further border crossings between the two countries and a statement on setting up a German-Czechoslovak commission of historians.

The ministers also discussed the possibilities of the West German Government's assistance to Czechoslovakia in its return to Europe.

As regards the simplification of the practice of granting visas, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman underlined the effort of the Czechoslovak Government to remove the necessity of asking for visas completely and as soon as possible. In this, the Czechoslovak side is meeting with understanding of Minister Genscher who considers the existing practice inconvenient.

Dobrovsky also pointed out the West German minister's emphasis on the need to reach an agreement on protection and support of investments in bilateral economic contacts which Jiri Dienstbier considers extremely important but obstructed at present by unpreparedness in the legislative sphere.

The West German spokesman underlined that the visit started in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

As regards the gradual opening of new border crossings between Czechoslovakia and West Germany, the two ministers agreed that this issue is extremely important for the building of bilateral relations as sought by both sides.

The ministers agreed that talks of experts on the opening of further border crossings between the two countries due in Prague February 6-7 should be aimed at speedy concrete steps in this matter.

Carnogursky Outlines Defense Law Amendments

LD0202101290 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by unidentified correspondent; time and place not given]

[Text] The protest meetings of students and demonstrative hunger strikes in military units, which we have reported recently, have a common denominator in the prepared amendments to the defense law. We have asked [Deputy Prime Minister] Jan Carnogursky: Can you acquaint us with the contents of the amendments to the defense law?

[Begin recording] [Carnogursky] Yes, the amendments to the defense law are almost ready; the government should decide upon them next week. The amendments shorten military service to 18 months, and for graduates of university military faculties to 9 months. For the first time in our legal order, they introduce the possibility of civilian replacement service instead of military service.

[Correspondent] How long will the replacement military service last?

[Carnogursky] It will last 1 and ½ times longer than the basic military service, that is, 1 and ½ times longer for those who should serve 18 months and 1 and ½ times longer for those who should service 9 months.

[Correspondent] The soldiers are asking that the bill be adopted retroactively?

[Carnogursky] The decision of the government so far is that, mechanically, the shortening of military service will not apply to soldiers who are serving now.

[Correspondent] When will the new bill come into force?

[Carnogursky] It could be as of 1 April. [end recording]

Colonel Lists Changes in Military Academy Focus

AU3101083390

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak on 25 January on pages 1 and 2 publishes an 800-word interview with Colonel Professor Jaroslav Erneker, PhD. doctor of sciences, from the Advanced Military School of Pedagogy in Bratislava, by Alzbeta Klesnilova, entitled "We Need Real Professionals." In the interview, the date and place of which are not given, Erneker discusses changes in the "orientation" of his school, which was formerly known as the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy and which used to train "political workers" for the needs of the Army.

As Erneker explains, the Advanced Military School of Pedagogy was set up on 29 December last year by "one of the first orders issued by President Havel." It is a school of "university type" and its graduates will be able to obtain the degree of "doctor of pedagogy." The school will be training "educational staff" for the needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army; this educational staff, in turn, will be taught to "educate soldiers in the spirit of scientific knowledge, humanism, and patriotism." There will be specialized courses for "officers for education and culture, officers for military and patriotic education, and officers-psychologists." According to Erneker, the school is also "preparing" specialized courses for "managers of military enterprises or enterprises producing military goods." Asked how the changes will affect the teaching staff, Erneker says that some departments will be abolished and new departments will be set up, which will make necessary the "complementing or substantial retraining of the faculty." Most changes will reportedly concern the teaching of social sciences where "completely new syllabuses, lectures, teaching texts, and scripts will have to be prepared."

Weapons Held Illegally, Privately To Be Turned In

AU3101123690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Hand In Your Weapons"]

[Text] Prague—The Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Czech Socialist Republic Ministry of the Interior, and the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment have issued the following statement:

In recent years there has been a significant and unwarranted increase in the number of privately owned firearms. The loss and illegal possession of these weapons is being encountered more and more often.

In order to avoid instances of the possible abuse of firearms for criminal activities and in an attempt to reinforce citizens' security, CSSR Interior Minister Richard Sacher—in concurrence with Antonin Hrazdira, Czech Socialist Republic interior minister, and Vladimir Meciar, Slovak Socialist Republic minister of the interior and living environment—has, effective 2 February 1990, rescinded the validity of firearms permits allowing persons to own and bear short-bore weapons.

Holders of these firearms' permits are obliged, prior to the 2 February deadline, to hand in short-bore weapons—in exchange for a receipt—to the appropriate regional, district, or municipal National Security Corps administration for safekeeping until new legal amendments are issued. During the same time period, citizens are also asked to voluntarily hand over all illegally held weapons. In this case, the unauthorized possession of firearms will not be considered as a felony or criminal act in view of the fact that these weapons were handed over voluntarily.

This measure also applies to members of the abolished State Security internal political intelligence units who will hand in all their firearms to designated commanders.

Owners of sporting and hunting weapons will be summoned to the appropriate National Security Corps unit where a civil commission, specifically established for this purpose, will consider the justification for the continued ownership of these weapons.

Plzen—In West Bohemia an inquiry has begun into the justification for former People's Militia functionaries and members to possess weapons. Persons who are no longer authorized to bear them will have their handguns withdrawn before the end of March.

Sacher Explains Measure

AU3101123990 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 26 Jan 90 p 2

["(JET)"-signed report: "A Pistol for Kcs200"]

[Text] Why did you decide on this measure? [appeal for weapons to be handed in] we asked Richard Sacher, CSSR interior minister, yesterday. "Perhaps the final impulse was provided at Tuesday's [23 January] Federal Assembly session when one deputy stopped me and said that he can purchase an automatic weapon for Kcs4,000," replied the minister. "My experience of Prague is such that you can purchase a decent pistol in Prague's underworld for Kcs200. That is shocking. There are many weapons in society and these are, I think, unnecessary. It is also dangerous, as a number of them are used to commit criminal acts".

Weapons for which a firearms' certificate has been issued can be obtained under authorization. But what about those that are being held illegally? "As long as a person is not using it, he can hand in an illegally held weapon with impunity until 2 February; after that date, the laws in existence on the illegal possession of weapons will fully apply to him. Do not think it is so easy to possess an illegal weapon, someone always knows about it".

5,000 in Prague Want State Security Disbanded

LD0102101990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] More than 5,000 people signed a petition in Prague yesterday supporting the disbanding of the State Security. You can add your signatures if you like today on the petition by St Wenceslas statue. At 1700 there should be a rally in Wenceslas Square supporting the federal interior minister's actions concerning the further existence of the State Security.

Former Secret Police Apartments Vacated

AU3102223990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Without Conspiratorial Apartments"]

[Text] Prague—Recently, there has been a lot of speculation surrounding the use of so-called conspiratorial apartments—apartments designated to the needs of the abolished internal political intelligence units. These apartments have now lost their justification. In an attempt to help resolve the unfavorable housing situation in Prague, therefore, the Federal Ministry of the

Interior has vacated a total of 240 apartments. A list of these apartments will be handed over to the Municipal District Housing Economy Enterprise and to the Municipal District Committees from Prague 1 to Prague 10. National Security Corps units will clean up the apartments and hand them over by 15 February at the latest.

Sacher: No KGB Staff in Interior Ministry

AU3102240090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 Jan 90 p 1

[Jan Kastanek report: "Advisers on a Reciprocal Level"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At present, there are no representatives of the KGB (Soviet state security) in the Federal Ministry of the Interior building, said R. Sacher, CSSR interior minister. Of course, they are in the Soviet Embassy. We are conducting definite negotiations which the Soviet side understands; some matters will, obviously, be cleared up by President Vaclav Havel's visit to the USSR. In this sphere we must also respect the valid commitments resulting from Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Pact. However, we would like the number of KGB representatives to correspond to the number of our confidants in the USSR. We would also like this cooperation to be commensurate with the level of our relations with other friendly states in Europe and the world. [passage omitted]

Sacher Announces Changes in State Security

LD0102200190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Federal Interior Minister Richard Sacher briefed newsmen this afternoon on principal changes in the structure of state security.

[Begin Sacher recording] Esteemed fellow citizens! Following the abolition of the so-called Internal Intelligence Service, my order issued today also abolished the remaining state security components. I have placed the protection of constitutional figures under the control of a special system [zlvastni rezim]. The confiscation of private and service arms has been under way since 0900 today. It will be completed by 1500 tomorrow. Service cards are also being confiscated. The chiefs of the named units will ensure that the subordinate members are available at their permanent residence in order that they may report without delay at their workplace within the period of working hours set by law—from 0745 to 1615.

Vaults containing documents and whole rooms will be sealed tomorrow afternoon. On Monday [5 February] we shall grant Czechoslovak television access to the premises of the counterintelligence headquarters in Prague or in the provinces, so that the viewers themselves can see that this is the real abolition of state security. On Monday, there will only be a skeleton staff at former workplaces, who will be appointed by name and confirmed by deputy ministers. They will ensure that the necessary measures in the interest of state and public security are carried out, such as the protection of nuclear power stations and the protection of air traffic. Other members are banned from entering their places of work.

As you may already know, apartments that were used for conspiratorial purposes are being handed over to the National Committee—in Prague alone this involves 272 apartments in all the districts of Prague. Because it was allowed that the use of technical intelligence facilities could be approved by a regiment's commander in charge, I abolished by my order today which authorized this regulation. Until a legal amendment has been adopted, every case of the use of technical intelligence facilities will only be allowed with the approval of the prosecutor in charge. This is a very serious decision but we all realize its necessity.

The state security—and this concerns not only its structure but also its orientation—was a product and at the same time an instrument of the former totalitarian power which abused, in particular, this component of the security apparatus against the people. It would therefore profoundly contradict the morale and the very nature of our revolution to merely take over this kind of apparatus. However, what we need is to build, quickly and without unnecessary delay, an effectively functioning security apparatus which will implement the security policy of the government of national understanding in this particularly sensitive sphere.

We shall part company with all who, in the course of carrying out the tasks in a particular section of security work, violated the laws and acted in contradiction to the principles of intelligence ethics, and who abused their posts in order to exert various forms of pressure on citizens, starting with threats right up to the crudest possible forms of psychological terror. These questions will be thoroughly discussed by the respective specialized and civic commissions which we are gradually setting up at the Ministry of the Interior, and at every regional and district administration of the National Security Corps.

I assure you that these commissions, the task of which is to discuss the competence or the incompetence of staying in service, will act in absolute fairness, and in no event shall a witchhunt take place.

As I have already stressed on various occasions, we depend in our newly built security apparatus on those employees who have a high professional and moral standard and who wish to implement the security policy of the Government of National Accord.

Of course, in order to replace those who will have to leave, we will accept those citizens who show interest in serving in the security forces, providing they have an unblemished civic reputation, are in good health, and regardless of their political affiliation and religious denomination.

As of today, therefore, a totally new security apparatus has been formed, headed by the Federal Interior Ministry. It includes the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service

[Ceskoslovenska Zpravodajska Sluzba], the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy [Urad pro Ochranu Ustavy a Demokracie], the Administration for the Protection of the Constitutional Officials [Sprava na Ochranu Ustavnich Cinitelu], the Investigation Office [Urad pro Vysterovani], the Passport and Aliens Office [Urad pro Pasovou Sluzby a Cizineckou Agendu], the Administration Office [Urad pro Spravni Sluzbu], and the Rapid Deployment Unit [Utvar Rychleho Nasazeni]. We will gradually inform you about the mission of these parts of the new security apparatus.

I am confident that you will receive the grave measures which were adopted and the fundamental reconstruction of the security forces of the Federal Interior Ministry not only with understanding, but also with confidence in the present leadership of the Federal Interior Ministry. [end recording]

Interview on Plans for Security Corps

LD0102225790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1709 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Interview with Federal Interior Minister Dr Richard Sacher; studio phone-in on 1 February with unidentified studio announcer asking questions of Sacher—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] And now we welcome in the studio our guest Dr Richard Sacher, federal minister of the interior. Good evening. [passage omitted] I would like to ask whether the security corps will be reinforced.

[Sacher] We must reinforce this corps. We must turn the public security corps into a true police force, with all that that entails.

[Announcer] Will they bear the same name?

[Sacher] We think that this should be the case, because the term public security member is a degrading title for a citizen who performs a very important and dangerous service for the benefit of citizens and the whole public; we think that he quite deserves to be called a policeman.

[Announcer] What will happen to the auxiliary guards of the public security corps, with regard to the public helping the police?

[Sacher] It is linked with the general concept that aims at forcing elements of the public security corps—in the good sense of the word—(?to use the help of the public), as is customary in well-known democratic states. In this connection we think that the public security auxiliary guards are not the best possible way through which the public might help with the work of the public security corps. I think that groups could be formed which could be mobilized immediately if, for example, a child is missing. No weapons or special requirements are necessary for this purpose, as these groups will be purely functionary. [passage omitted]

[Sacher] I want to say that we must not give in to excessive euphoria. If we abolish state security bodies we must not ignore the security of our state. We have reliable reports that in the neighboring [okolnich] countries, a service against Czechoslovakia [sluzba proti Ceskoslovensku] is becoming very active. If our people think that we can manage without reconnaisance and without counterespionage, they are in my view mistaken. No statesman can give up these services. What matters is to get these services to work for the real interest of the state [word indistinct].

[Announcer] Will the command of the Red Berets be changed, and if not, why?

[Sacher] We do not call these special units Red Berets, although they wear red berets. We will create something different for situations where quick action is called for. They will act against terrorists, hijackers, organized crime, or against persons who commit serious crimes, such as attacks against other people's integrity. They should also help when the consequences of natural catastrophes are dealt with. This new usage might call for a new concept of their work and a new command.

[Announcer] What happens to the dissolved elements of state security bodies? The majority of people think that they group themselves again under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

[Sacher] It is naive to think that by abolishing state security bodies they will disappear. They will not disappear. On the other hand, it cannot be said that everybody who was a member of the state security bodies was immoral, or that were no honest and blameless people among them. One cannot judge things in this way. If you knew who and what formed the state security bodies, you would realize that this philosophy would get us nowhere. For example, the passport and visa departments belonged to them, too.

[Announcer] The border guard units are also under the Interior Ministry. We have a question here concerning the future of border guards.

[Sacher] The future of the border guards will develop or it will be formed according to the standards of international relations that we have achieved—in other words, the question is whether there will be transition to a professional corps of protection, or whether we will retain soldiers in military service. In this regard, we have to distinguish between the countries which are, let us say, neutral, and which may also be among our western neighbors; but in any case this must find expression in the improvement of international relations.

[Announcer] Connected with this is the question of when we will be joining the EEC and doing away with frontiers.

[Sacher] Well, that is the question. We do not know if we want to, but I think that Premier Marian Calfa talked quite distinctly about these questions during his talks in

Austria. I think that what is remarkable here is whether it is within the concept of a future Europe that the other states of Europe join in with the 12 EEC states, or whether a new leading idea should be put forward as to the integration of European states.

[Announcer] The questions are constantly returning to the same problem: the sealing of the lists. In other words, they are asking: When will the names be published of the state security's informers, their collaborators among the public, commonly referred to as spies?

[Sacher] We have already made our position clear on this point. People who were forced through compromising materials, pressure, threats, and the like—these materials are being sealed. They have been sealed and taken to safes so that the people who were forced into that kind of collaboration can live among us in peace. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Here's another question: Are members of the police who were dismissed in 1969 for political reasons being rehired?

[Sacher] Of course we can rehire them, provided the individual meets the necessary professional and health requirements. I also want to say that not everyone who was dismissed for political reasons in 1969 is automatically eligible to become a member of the police. Such a person could have had a part to play in the trials and everything that happened in the 1950's and 1960's. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Here is a question which is perhaps outside the scope of your department: Who pays for the presence of the Soviet troops; how much does this cost per day; what is preventing their departure; and why must this be the subject of negotiation, as their entry was an irregularity?

[Sacher] I think that these are questions that should be put to someone else. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What is the situation regarding the KGB network in our country?

[Sacher] I think that this question has already been answered in the press. We will be seeking the same level of cooperation in the Soviet Union that we provide them with in our country. In addition, what we provide the Soviets with here must also be provided to every other friendly state—that is the only way it can be done. However, I must tell you that the Soviets also showed full understanding for this viewpoint, and at the moment preparations are being drawn up for a definite agreement on precisely this point.

[Announcer] What is the situation regarding our entry to Interpol?

[Sacher] Well, we are interested in joining Interpol, because we cannot fight international crime effectively. We know that Czechoslovakia has today become a very advantageous place for this kind of crime to be carried out, and here it has to be said that organized criminals often possess much better technical means than do our security forces. The problem lies in the fact, however, that Interpol will not liaise with one criminal investigation department in the Czech Republic, and with another in the Slovak Republic, and if we look at the delineation of powers, these powers are not in this respect adequate, in my view. Therefore, we have to organize this so that Interpol has one single counterpart to deal with in Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr Minister, what would you like to say to our listeners in conclusion?

[Sacher] I would like to wind up by asking the public to support the measures which have been announced today. I know that everyone everywhere is asking for the support of the public today, but in this sector we cannot function without mutual trust; it would cease to be a sector of the Interior Ministry if we told the public everything—absolutely everything. As we know, only those who are fully informed are in a position to make free decisions. We will give the public the maximum information, but it must be understood that we cannot fully reveal the structure of our intelligence and counter-intelligence work and other newly constituted units that will come under the authority of this Interior Ministry. No state in the world would do that.

[Announcer] Thank you, Mr Minister, for coming into the studio and answering our listeners' questions.

Calfa Interviewed on New Economic Policy

LD3001123990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0750 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Evelin Forro, Prague correspondent for Budapest radio, in Prague; time not given; Calfa remarks in Slovak fading into superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Forro] The new federal government came to office at the beginning of December, but so far the outlines have not emerged of its economic concepts. Mr Premier, would you please outline what kind of economic policy you wish to pursue?

[Calfa] The Czechoslovak debt stock is relatively very low and this a good starting point from the viewpoint of the new economic policy. To tell the truth, we are weighing the possibilities of private enterprise. We are expanding the entrepreneurial fields of economic organizations. We want to put an end to the monopoly situation of certain producer enterprises. We want to create the conditions for foreign capital investments. In other words, favorable circumstances are needed for investments.

Apart from this there is a need to develop a good tax system. We must abolish the measures curbing foreign trade, or, to be absolutely precise, the continual state

approvals. Last but not least, there is a need for laws by virtue of which share companies can be established.

[Forro] After this I asked government head Calfa what kind of economic, commercial relations the federal government's economic policy allows it to pursue with Hungary.

[Calfa] As far as Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations are concerned, they are made difficult by the economic situation of both sides, further, by those economic and financial relations which have derived from the cumbersome CEMA contacts. We have said the CEMA must radically change. If this does not happen, then we must question its existence, and our membership in it. Thus, what we now have to weigh is whether to go over to convertible accounting with Hungary. In my opinion, this is the basis for bilateral relations to exist without any kind of restrictions. Whether we are thinking of the goods-for-goods, or the money-for-goods, relationship, in any case where we mark our ordinary foreign currency value goods the change would solve the hitherto problems.

[Forro] The debate surrounding the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage has aggravated relations of late. What do you and your government think about the water barrage? What agreement do you wish for?

[Calfa] I can only give my own opinion, because the government's view is not yet clear. It has not yet dealt with this issue. Investigation is under way. What I do know is that in the last phase of the discussions, back in the time of the old government, in Bratislava they agreed that it is possible to build Nagymaros. But a series of assessments must be carried out connected with environment.

I have received a letter from Premier Mr Nemeth in which he, too, accepts these examinations. And he does not write that the Gabcikovo section should not be built. He asks merely that the resolution of the Gabcikovo issues take place after the elections in Hungary. In other words, that it be dealt with by the new government.

I am optimistic. I believe we shall find a solution, as it would not be good if this extraordinarily big investment were to go to waste.

From those who live there one can also hear voices opposed to the construction. I, too, have received a petition from the inhabitants of Samorin. However, I must say that if we do not finish the construction, we can not guarantee to the inhabitants living in other areas of Slovakia that we shall make their environment more bearable. At (Nitra-Novaky) the thermal power plant causes an enormous amount of damage. The air is polluted. If the Gabcikovo turbine could begin its work, we could stop the thermal power plant. If we do not take this step, I don't know how we shall resolve the environmental problems in Slovakia.

Naturally, I know that to a certain extent this construction represents an interference in the environment. Where would a 30-38 billion koruna interference not leave some trace? But now we have to find the better of two evils.

[Forro] Not long ago President Havel mentioned that Bratislava could also join in the Vienna-Budapest World Exhibition program. Does the Federal Government have any plans for this? Have you made any official proposal?

[Calfa] Not yet. It has been suggested that it could affect us as well. But in my view, this means not only us, but the neighboring countries. For instance, the Italian foreign minister paid us a visit. He, too, viewed the matter positively, as did the Austrians. So, the point at issue is that if the flood of people begins along the Vienna-Budapest line, then even for historical reasons we would have no cause to be left out.

Because Bratislava lies between the two capitals as a sort of connecting link, we shall seek ways to join in the preparations. However, the government has not discussed concrete methods so far. We do not even exclude the possibility of involving Prague in the task of the world exhibition program, thereby creatng a Prague-Vienna-Budapest triangle.

[Forro] In Slovakia there live 600,000-800,000 people of Hungarian nationality. To my knowledge it was mooted originally that there be a Ministry of Nationalities in the Federal Government, too, and in fact a Hungarian, Miklos Duray, had been nominated for this ministerial post. What is the reason why a Nationalities Ministry was not created after all, and how does the Federal Government wish to deal in the future with the situation of the nationalities?

[Calfa] The fact that there is no one in the government who would deal exclusively with the nationalities, or that Duray did not get this assignment, has no connection whatever with the Hungarian minority. The fundamental question was whether the matter of the nationalities has to be dealt with in the area of state administration. In my view it does not. The matter of the nationalities is, if I may put it like this, the affair of the nationalities insofar as culture and learning are concerned.

On the other hand, we know that these issues have to be dealt with. And we have agreed that we shall create such a committee alongside the Federal Government. We have entrusted Carnogursky with this. He is the government's first deputy chairman. We would like a committee in which the nationalities and the ethnic groups are represented. We want to resolve the historical and cultural issues. Its chairman will be Carnogursky, because we do not want anyone who would represent one or the other of the nationalities there. Because then the others would immediately say that that nationality enjoys advantages.

We are also thinking about setting up a similar organization alongside the national, in other words Czech and the Slovak councils as well, and also alongside parliament. I would like our ideas to be really interpreted correctly. These are not issues that belong to state administration.

[Forro] Mr Premier, how do you evaluate the political events in Hungary?

[Calfa] From the viewpoint of Czechoslovak events, I consider them clever and circumspect. Unfortunately, although we kept saying that we must learn from our friends, we did not do so in practice. And yet we could have eliminated many things. And the other thing is that the internal situation is not the same in the two countries. To say nothing of the fact that in our country there live two nations. While Hungary is relatively (?homogenous), we have different democratic historical traditions as well. We [word indistinct] from our experiences gained in the era before World War II and the era before 1948. But the other neighboring countries are also proceeding along different paths.

[Forro] Finally, I would like to ask about your private life. Your name would lead one to conclude that there might be someone of Hungarian origin in your family.

[Calfa] [passage omitted] I myself originate from eastern Slovakia. I know exactly what my name means. In my home they used to speak Hungarian; moreover in the Zemplan dialect. I will never forgive my father for not having taught me Hungarian. I have been to Hungary several times. True, they laughed at me when I opened by mouth; but I could make myself understood. [passage omitted]

I hope that when things are settled—I don't want to use the word normalization, because it has become very outworn of late—well, I hope everything will be resolved.

Adamec Quizzed on CPCZ Issues at Kolin Aktiv

AU0102145290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jan 90 p 1

[Jan Lipavsky report: "A Modern Party in the Offing; Ladislav Adamec at the Aktiv Meeting of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Kolin"]

[Excerpts] Kolin (by RUDE PRAVO reporter)—The aktiv of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] convened for a meeting in the House of Culture in Kolin on Wednesday [24 January]. [passage omitted]

Even before the aktiv meeting began, Ladislav Adamec was surrounded by the Kolin Communists, who wanted him to listen to various instances of the vilification of honorable party members; but sharp words were also addressed to the party leadership—the CPCZ representatives were accused of not appearing frequently enough before the public, and of not being sufficiently active on the political scene. [passage omitted]

In the discussion, certain participants in the aktiv meeting voiced their thoughts about ways to create a modern leftwing party; and Comrade Adamec replied to a whole number of questions. He stressed that, in resolving various controversial issues on the spot, first of all it is necessary to find sufficient personal courage and be able to stand up against incorrect views and practices. In replying to another question, he stressed that three former CPCZ members in the federal government had not considered it necessary to inform the responsible party bodies in advance of their decision to leave the ranks of the CPCZ. He called this regrettable. He characterized the relationship toward the Democratic Forum of Communists as an effort to preserve the party's unity, while simultaneously establishing suitable conditions for creating a strong left wing.

Adamec Speech in Kolin

AU0102140290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jan 90 p 1

["From the Speech by Comrade Ladislav Adamec," chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at the party aktiv meeting in Kolin on 24 January]

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], addressed the party aktiv meeting in Kolin. He stated, inter alia:

We all know about the many questions—voiced, but also unvoiced—among our ranks, and about their many fears and worries, critical comments and recommendations. I will therefore forego a lengthy introduction and deal with the most frequently recurring ones.

I have no intention of giving you either instructions or a directive. Let us jointly try to find answers to current problems, and do this in a frank dialogue, in a free exchange of experience. If necessary, I will go back to some of the issues toward the end of our deliberations, according to the questions you ask.

Scarcely more than 2 months have passed since 17 November. During this period, our entire society has undergone certain revolutionary changes. It must be said that we have wasted our chance to revive socialism under the party's leadership. This is also why the party has lost its leading status, why a new power structure has been created. We will long be discussing why the capital of trust and the authority of socialism have been squandered so reprehensibly. The prerequisite of a renewal of our policy is an open look at our past mistakes, and an energetic parting of ways with the past deformations. We know how difficult it is to cope with this for those thousands of honest Communists who are not in the least to blame for them, who had criticized many things and called for their rectification, and who so often became the victims of manipulation. But mere criticism of the past, although quite inevitable and fully justified, is not sufficient. We must neither retreat into the past, nor must we seal ourselves off. The party's status in society

will be determined by the extent to which we are able to provide answers to the questions tormenting our people.

The extraordinary congress and the constituent session of the Central Committee were the first, most important steps toward the party's renewal. The party's ranks in a whole number of districts and cities are starting to work, to become organized, and to exert influence on the public even under the present, far more complicated conditions. At the same time, it is becoming unambiguously clear that they can do so only on totally new foundations. The practices of yesterday, the efforts to continue along the old beaten track or even to cast doubt on the course which has been adopted, will not help us; they will even harm us.

We consider the current changes toward a pluralist political system and a market economy quite inevitable. Many of these things are part of our restructuring program. However, at the same time, we are resolutely opposed to the extremes which accompany them. The world justly appreciates the peaceful course taken by the contemporary changes in our country, as compared with other countries. However, the fact itself is also indubitably due to those thousands of honest Communists who stood up in favor of resolving social conflicts via negotiations and a dialogue. That is why we consider it unjust when somebody tries to condemn them today for their membership in the party, or even to apply sanctions affecting their very livelihood for the same reason.

The second aspect of the party's renewal is the need to substantially enhance the share of young, educated, energetic people in the creation and implementation of the party's policy. This will not be easy; still, we must make the necessary effort, for the future depends on this. The extraordinary congress took the first steps in this direction by radically rejuvenating the Central Committee: As an illustration, let me mention that it now consists of merely four members of the former Central Committee, and that the average age of the committee members has dropped from roughly 52 to 40 years. We must, and we will, continue on this course everywhere, consistently placing our stakes on youth.

Second, the party's renewal requires a thorough analysis of the development of our society during the past 40 years. This will naturally neither change nor eradicate the past. However, we must honorably come to terms with it. If we do not do this ourselves, others will do it for us—or even against us. That is why the congress has issued the instruction to speedily complete the objective evaluation of developments during the past 20 years. We want to call the gross mistakes and deformations and their internal and external causes by their right name, without emotions or prejudice; at the same time, we want to defend the results of devoted, honest work accomplished by hundreds of thousands of Communists and other citizens for the benefit of the society.

Third, part and parcel of shaping a new party is to establish its ideological foundation, its policy base, founded on the concept of democratic socialism as expressed in our Action Program. In this program, we have totally parted ways with the former bureaucratic concept of socialism; it follows up—not only in name, but also in its contents—the ideas of January 1968 and the Action Program of that period. I know that the term socialism has recently come to mean something bad. This is also the fault of those who have changed it from a term signifying the great ideals of the workers movement into a justification for their own political, economic, and moral mistakes. I do not doubt that our party will also succeed in returning its true contents to the term socialism. Thus I also cannot agree with the claim that nobody can say today what socialism means under our conditions. We all want a democratic, socially just republic, in which nobody would fear for his livelihood. I am profoundly convinced that such basic ideals of socialism as man's liberation, ensured human rights, and the material and spiritual provisions for developing one's personality in a highly productive, socially just, humanitarian society have lost nothing of their attraction.

We realize that a modern leftwing party cannot adhere, dogmatically and in every detail, to the ideas propagated by the classics, ideas which were in keeping with times and conditions which considerably differed from our present times and conditions. Life has failed to affirm many of our simplified notions, for instance the ones about an automatic progress under socialism, about ways and means of effecting a transition to communism, about the infinite possibilities of direct planning, and also about the automatic decline of capitalism.

The party's ideological orientation must adhere far more explicitly to the traditions of democracy and humanism which are deeply anchored in our history and in our people's minds; it must proceed from the priority of general human values and from the inseparable linkage between socialism and democracy. We will also orient ourselves toward that understanding of socialism which will correspond to the prospects of the scientific-technical revolution and of the transition to the 21st century.

Fourth, under the old system of directives issued along administrative channels, the party's political role was suppressed. Instead of convincing people by the force of ideas and arguments, one frequently issued mere orders—this was easier and far less trouble. However, it also harmed the party's authority and became one of the causes of the present crisis. A modern leftwing party, of the kind we want to become, can and will operate exclusively via political methods. That is why it cannot be an exclusive, selective party with a narrow orientation—it must be democratic and open to everybody; it must be a progressive leftwing force rallying the people of labor and people holding close to their hearts the ideals of social progress, socialism, social justice, democracy, and the defense of national interests. We do not claim to have either an ideological or political monopoly, but we will strive to achieve honorable cooperation and

understanding with all streams which support these aims, above all socialist streams.

Adamec Speaks to Ostrava Akiv on Party Activity

AU0102143290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jan 90 p 3

[Excerpt "From Speech Delivered by Comrade L. Adamec," CPCZ chairman, at an aktiv of North Moravian Communists in Ostrava on 29 January]

[Text] At the moment, Communists are considering the party's development after its extraordinary congress, exchanging experiences from working under new conditions, and seeking ways out of the current situation. I am pleased that Communists in the Ostrava District are not standing by the wayside or resigning from the party, but are renewing their activity.

We are undergoing a period of crisis. It is not easy to come to terms with its accompanying phenomena. The most difficult thing of all, but also the most important, is to recognize what is and what is not in crisis, what belongs to the past and what belongs to the future, and what to part from and what to orient ourselves toward. What is the stumbling block in this? A major barrier to understanding the fundamentally new political and social situation in our country is a lack of appreciation for the fundamental revolutionary changes taking place in the world. These have an unusually dynamic and dramatic character in the socialist countries. The essence of these changes is the transfer from a constitutionally guaranteed party monopoly to political pluralism.

The party—first and foremost owing to its former leadership—from the very beginning did not succeed in placing itself at the forefront of the necessary and, in principle, progressive process of the renewal and restructuring of socialist society. Therefore, it came under pressure from events, with all their unfavorable consequences for its influence, position, and authority. A major barrier to activating party ranks is also the fact that, so far, they have not recovered from the shock caused by the—at first glance unbelievably fast—loss of their previous positions. However, when we look more deeply at the long-term accumulation of unresolved problems, problems multiplied by an unwillingness to urgently begin radical restructuring, then there is no reason to be surprised; rather the contrary.

We certainly agree that it is necessary to pull ourselves together as soon as possible, to renew our self-confidence, and to acquire once more our lost or shattered confidence. Without this, the party cannot be a support to its members or trustworthy to the general public. However, this depends, first and foremost, on whether we manifest the ability to convincingly respond to today's vital and perturbing questions and whether we indicate a way out to disconcerted and floundering people. We must alter our outmoded ideas about socialism and renew the party along new, democratic, organizational, and ideological principles. We must base our activity on defending the working people's everyday social and political interests, speak out against any kind of civil discrimination, conduct a dialogue, convince, and win people over. We cannot rely on anything other than the strength of our arguments, the results of our work, and our moral example.

There is no reason for feelings of defeatism, faintheartedness, and hopelessness. At the same time, however, it is necessary to state openly that one path leads forward—the path of courage and ability to begin again, in a certain sense, from the beginning. We will never disavow our ideals of social justice, ideals for which generations of working class people struggled, but we will cast off everything that led to crisis and disparaged socialist ideals. It is necessary to honestly admit these things everywhere and to succeed in drawing all the necessary conclusions from them.

In the party's Action Program, its transformation into a modern, left-wing party of democratic socialism—a party which will participate in social life as an equal partner—is highlighted as a key issue. The party's renewal requires that an in-depth analysis be carried out into our society's development. If we do not do this, others will do it for us, either in our favor or against. It is necessary to once and for all part company from directives and prohibitions, from the administrative composition of the party according to social appurtenance, age, and so on. However, there is no argument about one thing: We need sufficient numbers of young people. We are talking about a vital role for the energetic and educated representatives of the new generation in the party's policy and activity.

A modern political party cannot live off its past merits. Unfortunately, until recently the representatives of our ideological front, in particular, dogmatically stuck to lessons and prognoses long overtaken by life. There is no shame in admitting that today we are wiser than decades ago and that the greatest geniuses could not know everything. However, it is a tragedy that throughout the Communist movement there was not enough courage and strength to look truth in the face.

As a new party we will not get by without a flexible and effective organization. The old organizational structure was a suitable foundation for bureaucratic centralism. Honest Communists felt more and more that something or many things were amiss here, but their critical comments and appeals for improvement often went unheard, even in the center. Therefore, it would be incorrect for party members to succumb to a feeling of some kind of collective guilt. More self-confidence is necessary. Not a cheap or artificial self-confidence, but one based on the understanding and support of all sensible citizens, of which there is a majority in collectives.

In many ways, renewing our lost authority and trust depends on our ability to implement modern methods of work. Unfortunately, we were not the first ones to understand and demonstrate its efficiency. It is a painful but, in some ways, a useful experience. We cannot hold

our ground in competition with others if we do not succeed in effectively asserting our program and our members' and supporters' interests in an everyday political struggle. Beforehand, a system of work had become established when we had become convinced among ourselves about general truths. This held back an exchange of views and, mainly, criticism from rank and file members.

The growing number of instances when pressure has been put on Communists in various posts has become one of today's most burning issues. Pressure has been applied to individuals in the economy, in the state apparatus, in national committees, or in other institutions because of their so-called loss of political trust or because of other pretexts. Often various self-styled cliques, whom no one elected, and even individuals clamor for their resignation from posts or for their dismissal without the prospect of them finding work corresponding to their qualifications. This is borne out, among other things, by the letter sent by employees at the First of May Mine in Karvina. Our attention is repeatedly being brought to these unjust practices which are a violation of the valid laws and of democratic principles. Just like a large section of the general public, we have an interest in ensuring that managing structures be purged of compromised and incompetent people, irrespective of whether they are Communists or anyone else. But we are equally unequivocally in favor of ensuring that managerial staff—whether they are Communists or anyone else—are provided with necessary guarantees for carrying out their work. Therefore, we consider it unjust when someone attempts to condemn party membership or even to penalize it.

Today our most important political task is preparing for the elections to the Federal Assembly, national councils, and national committees. We are under no illusion that the elections will be easy. We support appeals to conduct the election campaign decently, honorably, and without mud slinging and demagoguery. We will also abide by this. But we must be prepared for everything possible and impossible being used against us. Despite this, I think things are far from hopeless. We will not pursue any narrow party advantage, but will offer an honest service to our national and popular interests. In the preelection campaign, we will not accept a confrontationist opposition mentality. We support and we will continue to support dialogue and national understanding. But this does not mean remaining silent in the center, and especially in localities, when the people's rights or interests are violated or a threat of subversion is evoked.

Since the beginning of the social changes, our party has held the view that political struggles should not be projected into the economy's operation. We are against everything that disrupts the normal rhythm of its work, that threatens serious economic damage and aggravates the population's interests. Therefore, we speak out against unsteadying managerial structures and against distracting attention away from urgent economic tasks. Our party has come up with an initiative to introduce economic reforms. We are of the opinion that it is possible to overcome the transition to a market economy without undesirable shocks. However, this requires drafting and implementing a well-thought-out strategy that will take all circumstances into consideration.

Mohorita on Party Policy, Personnel, Names

LD0102203190 Prague CTK in English 1845 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—First it is necessary to assert new policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in practice and then to solve the question of changing its name, first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Vasil Mohorita stressed at a press conference here today.

Discussions are taking place today about the further character of the party and the party property, he said and added that the party is interested in using only those buildings which are necessary for its activities.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee has agreed to move its Secretariat into the building of the Czech Ministry of Justice in the Prague second district. The Czech Ministry of Justice and other justice bodies should have its seat in the current building of the Communist Party Central Committee.

Dealing with the resignation of Premier Marian Calfa from the Communist Party, he underlined that his case demonstrates the deep crisis of the party and added that some 500,000 persons have left it.

Answering a question of CTK if the Communist Party puts forward a candidate for the function of the Czech premier after the resignation of Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the party Central Committee Ondrej Saling stressed that this function is significant and that the Communists would appreciate if the Czech Government is led by a Communist.

Journalists were told that political responsibility of further leading party functionaries for the past development in the party and society will be assessed during the discussions of a commission of the party Central Committee on February 10-11. A proposal has been put forward to strip Jan Fojtik, Alois Indra and Josef Kempny of their membership in the Communist Party. Milos Jakes's appeal against his expulsion from the party will be reviewed by the Central Control and Audit Commission of the party.

Further Report

LD0102205490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Vasil Mohorita, Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] first secretary, Ondrej Saling, and Frantisek Adamek gave a news conference at the CPCZ Press Center in Prague today. It concerned the topical issues of

the CPCZ policy and in particular its stands on the restructuring of the Federal Assembly, prepared restructuring of other representative bodies, and the preparation for elections.

In this connection Vasil Mohorita, Central Committee first secretary, told journalists, among other things:

[Begin Mohorita recording] In the preparations for this restructuring we proceeded firmly from the resolutions of the CPCZ extraordinary congress, where our party pledged that it wants to take part in the creation of pluralist democratic society in Czechoslovakia. At all these deliberations, and in the preparation of all important documents, our CPCZ is doing so. That is, it did not find itself in the position of being a party without the opportunity to take part in creating these key documents. We are interested in seeing that the character of the party—the party's ideological basis—was discussed in our party organizations, that extensive discussions about it were conducted on the pages of the party press, that officials and members of the party took part in these discussions, and that we clarified these issues with the participation of the greatest possible number of people.

The loss of CPCZ membership is continuing. It is about 30 percent of party membership. We think we will have more exact statistics when the district conference of the party is held, which should take place this March.

In any case, our party wants to make use of only that which it needs for its activity. This means that we are not interested in using all those gigantic buildings that were built in all regions of the republic.

Naturally, we want to proceed from the specific conditions when seeking solutions, and we also expect this attitude from the state authorities and national committees. [end recording]

Government Positively Assesses Bush Proposal

LD0102182290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1658 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—[Passage omitted] The Council of Ministers has positively assessed the viewpoint expressed by U.S. President Bush on the speedier conclusion of the Vienna talks and on reducing the number of U.S. and USSR troops in Europe to 195,000 men each, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said at a news conference in Berlin today. It would be desirable for other NATO states to take this as an example.

Commentary on Bush Arms-Cut Proposal

LD0202120790 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1630 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Guenter Leuschner commentary from Vienna]

[Text] Bush's surprising proposal must, according to the general view held here in Vienna, be seen against the background of budget problems and the conflicts they entail in Congress. It is also welcomed, however, as an accommodating move toward the Soviet Union, which may in any case be forced to pull out its forces from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In the past, U.S. support has been for a mutual reduction of both its own and Soviet forces on their allied territories in Europe to a ceiling of 275,000 troops. Now Washington would be prepared to withdraw an extra 80,000 troops from Central Europe. As a consequence, some clarification will have to be brought to the question of what is going to happen to those forces deployed in southern Europe.

Given an agreement for a ceiling of just under 200,000 troops, the Soviet Union would have to or have the chance to withdraw a far higher number of troops without jeopardizing the military balance. That is perhaps what the U.S. accommodation is all about. However, it would only leave a balance between the U.S. and Soviet forces deployed in the region and not take into account the 160,000 British, French, Canadian, Belgian and Dutch troops stationed in the FRG. Adding those, as one will certainly have to, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact would be placed with a disadvantage that will rise as the ceiling for U.S. and Soviet forces is lowered.

The reckoning behind it is simple. The new proposal by President Bush would leave the West with 350,000 foreign troops on FRG soil, while the Eastern side would be left with a mere 195,000. The difference turns out even larger with the 3:1 ratio of the Bundeswehr and National People's Army forces taken into account. All things considered, the demarcation line between the two alliances would see a substantial NATO superiority. That, too, will be part of the calculation to be conducted at the negotiating table here in Vienna.

Whether Bush's proposal does, in fact, accommodate the Soviet Union might depend on Western readiness to also include the 160,000 non-U.S. foreign troops in the FRG in the disarmament process. That has long been at issue and has blocked a successful conclusion to the corresponding parts of the Vienna accords. Now this issue might play an even greater role.

U.S. Resistance to Disarmament Criticized

AU0202110390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jan 90 p 2

[Franz Knipping commentary: "Washington Takes Time Out"]

[Text] Regarding disarmament, contradictory signals come from Washington. According to CIA Director William Webster the threat to Western Europe and the United States has perceptibly lessened and will probably decrease even further. He substantiated this by the political changes in the Warsaw Pact states and the unilateral Soviet troop reduction in Central and Eastern Europe.

However, those who assumed that the decreasing sense of threat would encourage the Bush administration to intensify its disarmament efforts have been corrected. The lights have been switched from green to red, at least in an important sector. For an indefinite period, Washington does not want to negotiate with Moscow on a further restriction of nuclear tests or their comprehensive ban. This decision marks the break of a promise given to the Soviet Union and a turn in the previous U.S. policy.

The foreign ministers of the two world powers agreed in Jackson Hole in September 1989 to immediately start a new round of negotiations after the ratification of two agreements on subterranean nuclear tests concluded in the seventies. However, now it is stated that a longer break is needed, so that the efficiency of the verification measures, which, after many years of experiments by specialists of both sides, has long been regarded as proven, can be studied.

In the opinion of experts and members of Congress, the real reasons were completely different. The work to modernize the U.S. strategic and tactical nuclear weapons is being continued, and, for example, in the SDI space armament program the study and development of nuclear X-ray lasers and electromagnetic impulse weapons are on the agenda. All those forces that cling to the concept of nuclear deterrence despite perceptible easing of tensionse between East and West are not interested in further limiting the power of warheads being tested.

The opponents of success-oriented disarmament negotiations also introduced discordant notes in other questions. The WALL STREET JOURNAL has campaigned for the abandonment of the Vienna disarmament negotiations on conventional disarmament, and presidential adviser Rowny evaluated the USSR's unilateral troop

reduction as alarming. Reason: In this way the pressure on Washington for unilateral disarmament or a troop withdrawal is increasing.

In view of the contradictory signals, President Bush made it clear that he is not considering a revision of the new realistic policy toward the Soviet Union that has been laboriously initiated.

Soviet Troop Exercises To Proceed 5-11 Feb

LD0102182190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A troop exercise by the Western Group of Soviet Forces will take place as planned 5-11 February in the Haldensleben, Lindau, Dobritz, Brandenburg, Wesenberg, Sewekow, and Jaevenitz area. Up to 15,500 members of the Western Group of Soviet Forces will be involved in the troop exercises. The GDR's National People's Army will take part in the exercise with 400 members.

This troop exercise was announced to all participant states by the GDR Government in accordance with the final document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

Modrow Proposes Concept for German Unity

LD0102134190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1316 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Germany is again to become a united fatherland for all citizens of the German nation. In order to ensure that never again will a danger emanate from it to the life and property of its neighbors, a sense of responsibility, cautiousness, and an understanding for what is possible and for what Europe can tolerate are necessary," GDR Premier Hans Modrow said to the international press in Berlin today.

Modrow introduced a concept for the path to German unity for discussion. He mentioned as feasible steps a treaty-based community with confederative elements, the establishment of a confederation of the GDR and FRG with joint bodies, the transfer of sovereignty rights of the two states to governing bodies of the confederation, and, finally, the formation of a united German state in the form of a German federation or a German union through elections.

Answers Questions on Concept

LD0102144790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1403 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—He is not concerned with presenting a timetable, but rather a concept of content, GDR Premier Hans Modrow stated on Thursday in Berlin at a news conference on his ideas of a unified Germany. The entire process is not only an affair of both German states but should be incorporated into the all-European process.

The premier stated in response to questions that his conception was not agreed beforehand with the FRG chancellor, just as Kohl did not agree on his 10-point-program with the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR. They are his ideas and considerations that he is making public. Modrow said he hopes he will get to speak with Kohl soon in Davos on his conception.

Militarly neutrality is a problem in which the entire European continent is interested, Modrow stressed. The postwar situation, which is coming to an end, has already been discussed between Gorbachev and Bush. His thoughts fit into an international process. Neutrality is being expected by the European peoples, precisely at this time. Disarmament should be supported with the process and the blocs should be dismantled.

Modrow said that his conception was not agreed directly with Gorbachev, but they did speak about it.

In response to a question on the chosen time of the conception with regard to forthcoming elections and the continuing departure of GDR citizens, Modrow answered that one cannot only classify this proposal within current references. We are living today in a historically significant time. Politicians have to think about questions that transcend their immediate time. It is not a case of some kind of label, nor of election tactics, but of a problem that is of fundamental importance for Europe and particularly for the GDR.

Asked about a possible prerelease of information on the concept for Poland and Czechoslovakia, the premier said that he did not consult others through diplomatic channels on this. He has presented the conception as a proposal for dialogue, which should be discussed jointly. He assumes that confidence can be given to the [GDR's] neighbors by means of this.

Unity Concept Explained

LD0102155390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1436 GMT 1 Feb 90

["Text" of Prime Minister Hans Modrow's statement in Berlin on 1 February]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ladies and gentlemen, the peoples of Europe are looking at the two German states in these days and weeks. The complicated course of the democratic renewal in the GDR and the future relations between the GDR and the FRG influence considerably the Europe of today and in this decade. Peace, security, and stability on the continent depend more than ever on how the Germans solve their problems. I am setting out my conception on this.

Germany should again become a united fatherland of all citizens of the German nation. Awareness of responsibility, caution, and understanding for what can be achieved and for what Europe can bear are required so that never again does any danger for the life and possessions of its neighbors emerge from Germany. That may be safeguarded by means of the firm incorporation of German-German relations into the all-European development. To the extent to which the GDR and the FRG understand themselves in their striving for qualitatively new cooperation and a more intensive growing together as part of the all-European process of uniting, so they will shape their joint future for the well-being of their peoples and not to the detriment and at the cost of others.

It is therefore necessary to provide a standard for the understandable pressure of large sections of the population in the two states that will make possible a peaceful development and indicate a sensible time frame for the unification of the two German states. This time frame is determined by mastery of the necessary steps.

In the past, the GDR repeatedly submitted proposals for the restoration of the unity of Germany. These proposals, including the plan for the creation of a German confederation, did not, however, meet with the appropriate response. The present opportunity for fundamental qualitative changes in German-German relations should not again be allowed to remain unused. The practical path toward these changes should not be blocked by unconsidered or illegal demands.

Logically and sensibly, the process of German unification will be closely linked with the building of an all-European home and the European confederation. There must be no place for the policy of strength in this all-European home. It must be assumed that as early as the confederative stage, the two German states will detach themselves from their alliance obligations vis-a-vis third countries and will reach the status of military neutrality. The border between the GDR and FRG will then stop being the dividing line between the two military groupings and all the consequencs arising from this.

The conception "For Germany, united Fatherland," which I would like to set before you, foresees a step-by-step coming together of both German states, which is predictable and clear for the European peoples. Nothing may occur that runs against the process of the overcoming of the division of Europe and that creates new dangers. Existing all-European structures, such as above all the CSCE process, should form the framework for this.

The concept contains proposals such as how the overcoming of the division of the German nation can be imagined in a European peace order. Quite new perspectives are opening up thereby for disarmament in Europe and beyond. Germany, and not only Germany, has the realistic chance of being rid of weapons of mass destruction.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a matter of concern, and here I know that I am in agreement with many politicians, with numerous citizens of both German states, that the Germans achieve through free self- determination the unity of their fatherland and that this process is embedded in the joint efforts for a peaceful cooperative Europe.

Let me now present my conception.

'Text' of Unity Concept

LD0102150790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following is the text of the concept submitted in Berlin today by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow:

Europe is entering a new phase of its development. The postwar chapter is being concluded. Preconditions for a peaceful and good neighborly cooperation among all peoples are emerging. The unification of the two German states is moving onto the agenda.

The German people will find their place in the building of a new peace order in the outcome of which both the division of Europe into enemy camps and the division of the German nation will be overcome. The time has come to draw to a close the chapter of World War II and to conclude a German peace treaty. The latter would solve all problems associated with the aggression of Hitler Germany and the demise of the "Third Reich."

A solution once and for all to the German question can only be achieved in free self-determination of the Germans in the two states, in cooperation with the Four Powers, and with due regard for the interests of all European states. It must promote the all- European process, which is supposed to free our continent once and for all from military dangers. The rapprochement between the two German states and their ensuing unification must not be regarded as a threat by anyone.

In this sense, I propose a responsible national dialogue. It should be its aim to determine concrete steps that lead to a united Germany that is set to become a new factor of stability, trust, and peace in Europe. The representatives of the GDR and the FRG could find with such a dialogue and in equal negotiations the best possible answers to the question of the future of the German nation.

The steps on the path toward German unity could be:

—Conclusion of a treaty on cooperation and good neighborliness as a treaty-based community, which should already contain considerable confederative elements such as economic union, currency union, and transport union, as well as legal alignment.

—Formation of a confederation of the GDR and the FRG with joint organs and institutions, such as, for example, parliamentary commission, Laender Chamber, and joint executive organs for certain areas.

—Transfer of sovereignty rights of both states to power organs of the confederation.

—Formation of a unified German state in the form of a German Federation or German Alliance by means of elections in both parts of the confederation, convening of a unified parliament, which decides on a unified constitution and a unified government with its seat in Berlin.

The necessary conditions for this development:

—Each of the two German states ensures that the steps toward Germany's unity are reconciled with its obligations to other countries and groups of countries and with necessary reforms and changes. This includes the GDR's transition to a laender structure. The preservation of stability, justice, and law internally is as indispensable as the strict fulfillment of treaties signed earlier by the GDR and the FRG and that, among other things, state that they should refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs.

—Safeguarding of the interests and rights of the Four Powers and of the interests of all the peoples of Europe in peace, sovereignty, and secure borders. The Four Powers should state their intention to finally settle, after the formation of a united German state, all the questions that arose from World War II and the postwar period, including the presence of foreign troops on German soil and membership in military alliances.

—Military neutrality of the GDR and the FRG on the way to federation. This process of the unification of the Germans takes place on the basis of agreements between the parliaments and governments of the GDR and FRG. All sides declare their desire for democratic and nonviolent forms of political discussion and create necessary guarantees for this, including public opinion polls.

The concept supports the democratic, patriotic, progressive ideas and movements for the unity of the German nation arising out of a joint history and the most recent past. It supports the humanist and antifascist traditions of the German people.

This concept is addressed to the citizens of the GDR and FRG, to all European peoples and states, to world public opinion with a request for support.

[Signed] Hans Modrow, prime minister of the German Democratic Republic

Krause Presents Economic Reform Program

LD0102180290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR State Secretary Wolfram Krause today presented a proposed government program on economic reform at the government news conference. An economic and currency union with the FRG is an important aspect. It is a matter of overcoming the critical economic situation and a radical break with the command economy. The change to a social and ecological market economy should be made step by step.

Foreign capital must be used to renew very worn-out basic assets, improve working conditions, modernize jobs, reconstruct and expand the infrastrucuture, and protect the environment, as well as promote medium-sized firms. During the period of finding a job, state support and compensation payments from enterprises are to be guaranteed. Rules on early retirement are planned.

Krause pointed out the government's unanimous acceptance of the proposal. It is now a matter of the debate in the People's Chamber and at the roundtable this coming Monday [5 February]. The proposal will be published next week.

Asked about the labor and retraining program, Krause mainly pointed to the necessary new quality of the labor exchanges and their strengthening. No centralized program was planned but being specific in the plans was required. Next week rules on training the labor exchanges will be formulated. Where a worker cannot be given a job because of he lacks the right qualifications, he should be retrained in the relevant enterprise or district.

Asked about renewals in the concept, Krause pointed out the example of transferring locally managed industry to local authorities. Beginning in February there will be greater room for independence in 120 enterprises in light industry, machine building, and heavy industry. This project will be extended in the second half of the year. Economic categories such as prices and money had to be better brought into play within a social market economy. Completely different social legislation is needed. Referring to wage increases that had been granted, Krause said these were an expected advance on improvements in performance.

SED-PDS Presidium Welcomes Modrow Plan

LD0102213190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2010 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The presidium of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] executive welcomes in basic principle the fact the GDR prime minister has now shown from his point of view the stages, the conditions, the prerequisites, and the aims of the process to solve the German question. In a statement conveyed to ADN today, it is pointed out that the SED-PDS extraordinary congress in December of last year had already stated that the German question had to be solved within a European framework.

"We had also stated that the path would run via a treaty-based community and confederative structures, but that the interests of the four powers and the nations of Europe would also have to constantly be taken into account. These statements remain valid."

The party is of the opinion that there was need for a more thorough determination of the content of this process. It was indispensable that the social security and necessary legal guarantees for citizens of the GDR were guaranteed. The GDR's values had to be included. "The united Germany, must in our opinion, have social and democratic features: i.e. we will continue to fight for democratic socialism on German soil."

A condition for the unification process now is respect for the autonomy and independent statehood of the GDR. In agreement with the concept of the prime minister, the SED-PDS starts from the assumption that interference in the GDR's internal affairs should be ended. Only in this way can a community be reciprocally agreed upon, and only in such a way that there there be a guarantee that "both states and societies change and reform, and that the Germany of the future will not be a right-wing greater Germany, but a country that peacefully fits into the European confederation."

The concept clearly shows that an immediate unification is not possible. "It would break the social networks of both German states, exclude our values, overtax the communities of the two states, create uncontrollable situations on the labor markets, and seriously threaten European stability." Therefore, it is now a matter of the first steps being taken: that is to say, of the rapid development of the treaty-based community with the goal of creating a German-German confederation. At the proposed later stage, the SED-PDS was not satisfied with military neutrality. "At this point in time, we assume the need for the demilitarization of Germany."

Regarding the tabled concept, the conditions and prerequisites mentioned in it are of fundamental significance for the party. It continues to support a European Germany, but opposes concepts of a German Europe. The process of drawing closer must bring a progressive, social, democratic, humanist, and rigorously anti- fascist Germany. "Otherwise, we cannot agree to it, because then it would be greatly harmful for the Germans and the Europeans in East and West," the statement says in conclusion.

Gysi Warns Against Reunification Too Soon

AU0102130590 Hamburg BILD in German 30 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, Social Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism chief, by BILD editor Peter Brinkmann; date and place not given: "What More Do We Want! Gysi Also Favors Reunification"]

[Text] [BILD] Your party does not propose "unity" in the election campaign. Are you opposed to unity?

[Gysi] No, not at all. This process cannot be stopped. However, it is irresponsible to pretend that it is possible by tomorrow. What is happening now, is too fast and too chaotic, I think. People are only allowed to choose between Hertie and Horten [department store chains]. That is impossible, and it is bound to go wrong. In addition, the GDR's own achievements are being negated. In this way, one is trying to break the people's necks, because one says that the people have been foolish and stupid for 40 years.

[BILD] However, the people want to have reunification now.

[Gysi] Unification is a matter of the European framework. However, owing to the developments in East Europe, the conditions in this respect are constantly improving. However, I do not want to have a German Europe but a European Germany. A slogan, "unification now with the Party of Democratic Socialism," would be too populist, as far as I am concerned.

[BILD] But some 2,000 people leave the GDR every day....

[Gysi] The FRG also has the task to help stabilize the situation in the GDR. It is dangerous to create illusions now. In addition, unity would also break the FRG's social system. The legal problems are totally unresolved.

[BILD] Which ones, for instance?

[Gysi] We have a totally different criminal law, civil law, and property law. You cannot just put that together over night. There are at present at least three groups leaving the GDR. The first is afraid of chaos. The second believes that unification will come soon, but goes to the Federal Republic now to be integrated in time. The third group probably leaves for social reasons. In this respect, I appeal to the FRG's responsibility to contribute its share to stabilize the situation in the GDR.

[BILD] Why do you reject a referendum on the issue of unity?

[Gysi] The elections on 18 March and the referendum on the new Constitution answer the same question.

[BILD] How are you feeling personally?

[Gysi] A virulent campaign is currently going on against me, particularly in the Western media. I do not deserve that. I feel personally attacked.

LDPD Urges GDR, FRG Reunification Vote

LD0202115890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1103 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A referendum should be held in the two German states on German unity on 2 December 1990. This proposal by the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] was submitted today by the chairman, Manfred Gerlach, at an international news conference in Berlin. In the FRG, this referendum would coincide with the Bundestag elections. Gerlach underscored that his party proceeded on the basis that the German people's right to self- determination would be

fulfilled. It is expected that a large majority of the population will opt for German unity.

Shortly after the referendum, the two German parliaments should convene in one session and elect Richard von Weizsaecker as president of Germany. Von Weizsaecker should thus become patron of the unification process between the two states.

Manfred Gerlach stated that he agreed with the main aspects of the plan submitted by Prime Minister Hans Modrow for a path to a united Germany. It also reflects the LDPD's position on the unity of Germany.

New Travel Law Goes Into Effect

LD0102130990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1127 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The new GDR travel law, which allows every citizen to have a passport and to travel abroad at any time, came into force today, [1 February]. It was passed following the second reading by the GDR People's Chamber on 11 January. [passage omitted]

500 Stopped at Border

LD0102192290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1725 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Today, the day the new travel law came into force, the GDR border control authorities prevented 500 GDR citizens from crossing the border. The citizens either did not have valid passports for the crossing or did not have GDR citizen identity cards with valid visas. The Interior Ministry's Press and Information Department announced this today. [passage omitted]

SPD's Boehme Criticizes FRG's CDU

AU0102120290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jan 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Ibrahim Boehme: The Activities of the FRG CDU Are To Split the Opposition in the GDR"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Ibrahim Boehme, executive secretary of the GDR's Social Democratic Party, criticized attempts by the FRG's Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and, in particular, by its general secretary, Volker Ruehe, to influence the party structure of the GDR as "mudslinging." What is now "starting as mudslinging is based on the intention to split the opposition in the GDR," Boehme said. He pointed out that national and conservative forces in the GDR are increasingly managing to be heard. Those who "join the course of the CDU and the Christian Social Union in the FRG" he accuses of "subjecting themselves to the pressure by Kohl, Ruehe, and Waigel."

The Green Party in the GDR called for extreme restraint and noninterference by the FRG in the GDR election campaign.

British Foreign Minister's Visit Viewed

AU2601130890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jan 90 p 2

[Werner Goldstein editorial: "The Fine British Way"]

[Text] Granted, in the past, we discussed, above all, what is not the "fine British way." Following the 3-day visit of British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, the representative of one of the four signatory powers of international agreements on Germany's postwar development, it is all the more gratifying for us to comment on a positive example. I mean, above all, the direct but tactful way in which the representative of the Conservative government in London responded to existential problems of another sovereign state. That strikes us all the more and in a pleasant way, because other visitors from the conservative camp—however, from the other German republic —often behave differently, and even as if they visiting a "poor relative."

In all his talks—ranging from the acting State Council chairman and the GDR chief of government to the parties and groups who call themselves the opposition—the man from the Thames made recommendations or submitted constructive proposals, not demands, about democracy, elections, or even the possible future unity of Germany. Nonetheless, in doing so, he always observed British interests—no doubt about that.

He did not tire of repeating that the stability of the political situation in the GDR requires the stability of the Modrow government. He said that stable political conditions are a decisive prerequisite for holding fair democratic elections for a truly legitimate people's representation and government with which Western Europe could conclude binding agreements. As he stressed at his concluding news conference, he encouraged his partners in the talks to broaden the current government basis with this goal in mind because this was in the interest of the GDR and all of Europe. He dealt with the "German question" in an equally understanding way, advocating, of course, the right to self-determination of the people in both German states, and recommending not to leave security and other aspects of the four signatory powers as well as NATO and the EC out of the picture.

Such recommendations from the homeland of parliamentarism, connected with the statement of intent to intensify contacts with the GDR, particularly in the economic and cultural areas, are really welcome as the "fine British way."

United Left Leaves Modrow Government

LD0202140490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1257 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The United Left had announced its withdrawal from the government; the premier's commitment to a "Germany, one fatherland" oversteps the bounds of leftist politics in three ways, the United Left said today.

First, economic and monetary union with the FRG in the framework of a treaty-based community is not possible without immediately ruining two-thirds of the enterprises, causing mass unemployment, and wrecking the political balance in Europe. Western Europe itself, despite the much smaller productivity difference, has still not achieved monetary union after 40 years.

Second, this absurd economic strategy strengthens the illusions of millions of citizens who think that a direct link with the FRG, with the deutsche mark as the internal currency, could guarantee Federal German living standards instead of countering these illusions in a well-informed way. In this way, the ground is further cut out from under economic reform, and credible politics are undermined. The plan presented by Modrow does not amount to a unification of the two German states but to the mere connecting of the GDR to the economically powerful Federal Republic of Germany.

Third, the government has again developed this position without exchange, consultation, or coordination with the organized forces at the roundtable. It has thus demonstrated its inability to recognize, to accept, and to practice grass-roots democracy, particularly in times of crisis.

An alliance of all left-wing forces in this country is now all the more urgent, not just for the election, but to preserve the chance for independent development. This is particularly necessary in order to achieve demilitarization and not just neutrality, as the real basic condition for ensuring that any kind of German-German cooperation and German merger safely excludes a threat to Europe and the world.

LDPD on CDU Withdrawal From Government

AU0102130290 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 27-28 Jan 90 p 1

[Undated "statement" issued by the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany Press Office: "SED Majority In Government Unacceptable"]

[Text] Berlin—At an extended meeting on Friday [26 January], the Secretariat of the Central Executive Board of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] made the following statement on the withdrawal of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] ministers from the government:

The LDPD Central Executive Board decided on 19 January that our party's ministers should continue in the government under the conditions mentioned at that time and should cooperate constructively in solving the country's problems in the people's interest. The Party Congress that is scheduled to be held in Dresden on 9-10 February will make a statement on the coalition issue. This decision was welcomed by the majority of our party members. We do not see a reason now to revise this decision, because, among other things, of democratic opinion forming within the party.

The Central Executive Board also demanded on 19 January that a serious offer on government participation should be made to the new parties and citizens' movements represented at the roundtable. This demand was presented to the prime minister on the evening of the same day. He and—and this should be stressed—all coalition partners agreed to this LDPD initiative. That was the basis of the proposal submitted by Prime Minister Modrow to the roundtable on 22 January. Talks are being held on this proposal and on the conditions of cooperation in a grand coalition, both between the past coalition and the past opposition, as well as among these groups.

For this reason, the CDU Presidium's decision seems to us to be incomprehensible and not in the interest of the orderly continuation of government work.

Given the process of obvious disintegration of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], the LDPD considers the idea unacceptable that this party should have the majority in the government.

The LDPD puts its stakes on reliability, on competent and efficient cooperation in the government. We stress the liberals' interest in a grand coalition able to support the democratization process on the broadest basis and in the people's interest until the elections on 6 May. We confirm that we reject cooperation of the LDPD in the government following the elections if the SED-PDS were to take part in the government.

More Demonstrations Around Country Noted

Protest in Erfurt

LD0102231190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1953 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—After peace prayers in churches in Erfurt, thousands of citizens energetically called for continuing the democratization process in Thursday demonstrations.

Representatives of the citizens' committees and the citizens' watch spoke, above all, about the results of the work of the independent investigative commission on disbanding the former State Security offices and on clearing the putative State Security installations. It was announced, i.a., that in the Erfurt area up to now 1,490 former employees of the State Security Service, thus about half, have resigned.

There were varied points of view regarding German unity, whereby choruses of "Germany united fatherland" drowned out warning words against speedy unity.

Resignations Requested in Rostock

LD0102205890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2004 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Instead of the usual demonstration through the center of Rostock this evening, several thousand citizens of the port city formed a human chain around the city hall with its seven towers on Ernst-Thaelmann-Platz. They were supporting the call by the citizens' committee that the city fathers of Rostock should lay down their offices and govern in a caretaker capacity until the local elections on 6 May. The Thursday demonstration, which has now become traditional, ended with a short rally at which representatives of the citizens' committee and New Forum spoke.

During a church service earlier, Pastor Joachim Gauck criticized the sudden resignation of individuals and functionaries from the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Social Democracy] in Rostock and encouraged every single citizen of the city to take an active part in structuring society.

FRG Flags at Gera Protest

LD0102192990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1853 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Gera (ADN)—After peace prayers today in Gera's St. John's Church, about 5,000 citizens marched through the city center. Black, red, and gold [FRG] flags primarily determined the appearance of the demonstration.

"Thuringia my home—Germany my fatherland," "Stasi into production and not a management function" or "Thank you very much, you Soviet soldiers, but now it is time to go home" could be read on banners and placards. The cry "Germany united fatherland facing the future" [quote from the GDR national anthem] was repeated throughout the march.

Protests in Several Cities

AU0102135390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 2

[ND/ADN report: "Demonstrations in Several GDR Cities"]

[Text] Berlin—Several hundred trade unionists demonstrated in Berlin's Academy Square for strong and independent trade unions on Saturday [20 January]. They followed an appeal of the Committee for Self-Determination, "Awakening 90," which has been formed by trade unionists from 17 Berlin enterprises.

On Sunday [21 January], people working in small business and the catering trade demonstrated in Cottbus, Dresden, Hoyerswerda, and Schwerin against inadequate working and living conditions, and demanded that more consideration should be given to wage policy.

On Sunday afternoon, some 35,000 citizens marched to the Plauen City Hall, carrying black and red and yellow flags, and calling for the resignation and dissolution of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism.

Peasants Demonstrate

AU0102141690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 1

[ND report: "Peasants Call for More Consideration of Their Interests in Renewal"]

[Excerpt] Neubrandenburg—About 10,000 participants in a peasants' demonstration in Neubrandenburg on Saturday [20 January] demanded that the peasants' opinion should be taken into consideration more in connection with the renewal of the country. The representatives of this branch from villages between the Haff and Plauer See, as well as inhabitants from Neubrandenburg, who rallied at Karl Marx Square in the center of the area city, had followed the appeal of cooperative peasants from the agricultural cooperative of Blankensee in Neustrelitz District to come to this demonstration. They were supported by some of the established and new parties, as well as the New Forum and other groups. The participants carried banners that said, among other things: "Democratization is impossible without us, the peasants," "We demand real prices for our products," or "Where is the peasants' word at the roundtable?" [passage omitted]

Doctors Demonstrate

AU0102135090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Doctors' Demonstration: Sharp Criticism of Health Policy"]

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Health Minister Professor Dr. Klaus Thielmann wants to submit a government draft on new tariff regulations for doctors and nurses on Thursday [25 January]. Accordingly, a new tariff system for the health and social system is to come into effect as from March 1990. He stated this to the 2,000 to 3,000 participants in a demonstration called by the Rudolf Virchow Association—Independent Doctors' Association of the GDR—in Berlin on Saturday [20 January]. The minister is calling for a doubling of salaries. According to Thielmann, the required M1.9 billion are to be taken from the M3.8- billion budget of the former State Security Ministry. [passage omitted]

Immediate Wage Increases Ordered for Workers

LD0102155990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1402 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has decided on immediate measures for increasing wages and salaries. They affect around 2.3 million workers and employees and come into force between 1 March and 1 July, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said on Thursday.

These measures required means to the tune of around M3.6 billion. They affect working people, above all, in the areas of the health and social system, trade and local supply economy, foodstuffs industry, banks, savings banks, insurance, postal services and individual groups of employees in industry. [passage omitted]

New Economic Program Called 'Radical Break'

LD0102180390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has worked out an economic program directed toward a radical break with the system of command economic planning and toward a change to a socially and ecologically oriented market economy. State Secretary Wolfram Krause, the government's representative on economic reform, gave a briefing on this to an international news conference in Berlin today.

The necessary conditions for an appropriate framework for independent management as well as production directed toward the needs of the domestic and foreign markets were to be created by state regulation and economic measures. New forms of using profits and hard currency, as well as a system of wages and conditions, would promote the working people's interest in the economic success of the enterprise. Flexibility is to be raised, particularly in consumer and component industries, by freedom to trade for skilled trades and traders as well as a growing number of small and medium-sized enterprises. [passage omitted]

The program envisions prices, incomes, and tax reforms as a decisive condition for the development of entrepreneurial initiatives within market-oriented production, for equal opportunities for all forms of ownership in competition and the effective application of the work performance principle. The restructuring of financial and banking relations (thus the GDR's State Bank is to become a body independent of the government) and the creation of independent hard currency management by enterprises, to achieve the convertability of the GDR mark step by step in connection with this. [passage omitted]

Authorities Responsible for Election Fraud

LD0102211790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The falsification of the 7 May, 1989, local election results were not undertaken at the initiative of the Berlin city boroughs. This was stated today by Klaus Schlundt, deputy head of the Berlin CID [Criminal Investigation Division], at a press briefing. The investigations by the Berlin CID point to the fact that there was central intervention and that representatives of the municipal authorities bear responsibility for the electoral falsifications.

The police officer said that he could imagine Chief Mayor Erhard Krack being called to account.

Berlin Official Arrested

LD2601193990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An arrest warrant was issued today for Heinz Kimmel, former first secretary of the SED District Executive of Berlin-Friedrichshain, on urgent suspicion of election fraud. The Berlin State Prosecutor's Office further told ADN today that the city precinct mayor, Heinz Borbach, is also among the present or former employees of the councils of the Friedrichshain and Pankow city precincts against whom investigatory proceedings have been instigated on suspicion of election fraud.

The investigations continue.

Berlin Mayor Issues Denial

LD0102211290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1234 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Berlin Chief Mayor Erhard Krack stated to the newspaper BZ AM ABEND today that he knows nothing about a document calling for electoral falsification in the Treptow city borough. He expects a truthful solution to the affair. [passage omitted]

State Attorney Roland Kaiser assured that the incidents will be cleared up within 4 weeks. The documents will then be passed on to the city borough court. [passage omitted]

CDU's De Maiziere Criticizes Early Elections

AU0102115890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jan 90 p 1

[ADN report: "De Maiziere: SPD Refuses To Accept Responsibility for Government"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In a statement, Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the GDR's Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], has called the election date of 18 March the result of a tactical maneuver in the election campaign of the Social Democratic Party [SPD]. "The accusation of irresponsibility leveled by SPD spokesman Reiche against the CDU fully falls back on the Social Democrats, who were not willing to accept responsibility for the government until 6 May in order to help alleviate the current emergency. In this situation, when it is necessary to accept government responsibility, the CDU will not fail," he stressed.

According to ASSOCIATED PRESS, a first meeting between De Maiziere and Chancellor Kohl is to take place this week.

Commentary on Early Election Compromise

AU0102115890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jan 90 p 1

[Ingolf Bossenz commentary: "Forced To Move"]

[Text] The die have obviously been cast. The compromise package, which was negotiated by Premier Modrow and the parties and groups represented at the roundtable during a 7-hour marathon on Sunday [28 January] received almost unanimous approval by the groups of the supreme people's representation. The first and most important of the four points of the program is: The People's Chamber elections are to take place as early as on 18 March—following a proposal by the Social Democratic Party. The deputies will make the final decision on this on Monday [29 January].

In view of the current Cabinet's capability to govern, which has been called into question by the increasing domestic destabilization, the change of date seems to be sensible, as does the associated inclusion of all groups represented at the roundtable in a government of national responsibility, which will act until the elections.

However, concerned voices are also being raised. Not only about a possibly insufficient public discussion of the election law, but also about a potential handicapping of those new parties and groups, whose organizational and programmatic structures are still in the process of developing or detailing.

Regardless of one's opinion on the agreement found, it forces everyone to move: It forces the government to do constructive work in a new composition until the elections; the parties and groups to detail their profile in program and personnel toward the voters; and it also forces all other democratic forces, regardless of their party-affiliation, to ensure an atmosphere that is beneficial to preparing and holding the elections in the interest of the people and that counters a further radicalization of public life.

Gysi Comments on Berghofer's Resignation

AU3101141890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, by Karin Doerre and Frank Herold; date and place not given: "Simply Turn Our Backs on Those Who Place Their Hopes on Us?"]

[Text] [ND] The situation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] has escalated as a result of Wolfgang Berghofer's resignation from the party....

[Gysi] We discussed the situation after the resignation of Wolfgang Berghofer and other people from Dresden in the Presidium and have come to the following assessment. First of all, it is everybody's own decision whether he stays in the party or not. Therefore, our criticism is mainly directed against the style in which this resignation was carried out. In our view, as deputy party chairman, it would have been appropriate to discuss this step with the Presidium and the Executive Committee. And if Wolfgang Berghofer thinks that it would have been in the interest of the country to dissolve the party, he would have had to seize the opportunity last Saturday [20 January] to convince the Executive Committee of this.

He did not do this, but obviously he prepared this step together with others and carried it out in front of the cameras of Western television and had only informed the party chairman in a letter dated the same day. With this he made his decision not as a personal decision, but he wanted to achieve an additional effect, which he certainly managed. Therefore, this style must be rejected because it neglected the simplest rules of fairness.

[ND] The media reported that you are looking for talks with Berghofer on questions of contents. Is this correct?

[Gysi] This is correct, if he is ready for this. But, perhaps, this is not the most topical task now.

[ND] How will things go on?

[Gysi] The members should know that the Presidium will not leave them in the lurch. We know how difficult the situation is for the individual. And we know that other members will leave us, in particular those who reject even the idea of being in the opposition, because they were in power for many years and want to go on ruling.

This will certainly be linked with personnel and structural changes in the party. However, these are changes that ultimately will benefit the process of renewal. One always has to think about the fact that the main issue is not the fate of the party but the fate of the country and further consequences. One must not permit a certain stage-by-stage plan that finally leads to the liquidation of the country and thus conjures up dangers for the stability of Europe.

There are hundreds of thousands of honest party members who are willing to work with great sacrifices for the future of the country. This struggle can be organized only within the party. It is our task to organize this struggle in the course of a renewal.

[ND] Which chances do you see for this?

[Gysi] There are also signs of encouragement and hope. Most letters that the Executive Committee gets, for instance, do not even come from party members but from other citizens, who hope that we continue to present our policy offers. And there is something else; in my view, the interests of the workers were pretty much left out of consideration during the democratic revolution in this country so far. They have social fears that I understand and that lead to certain actions. So far there has not been a political party that has really taken up

these interests, and of course, at present, we have difficulties to be accepted by the workers. However, this cannot prevent us from formulating their interests and expressing them. This task remains incredibly important. Of course, we also see that other leftist parties have been formed with or against us. But this does not reduce our importance within this leftist range. But it poses the task to really become a new party. And in this we are present, no matter how difficult this process will be. In this question we need critical comments but not marginalization.

And there is another sign of hope. Everywhere where the functionaries leave the party, grass-roots initiatives of mainly young party members form immediately to preserve the party. After Western television carried the statement by Wolfgang Berghofer and the area chairman and a large part of the other members of the Dresden Bezirk Executive Committee, that same evening a great number of particularly young members met at the Area Executive Committee to immediately form a presidium that was able to work.

We cannot simply turn our backs on the many hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions, within and outside the party, who place their hopes on us.

[ND] For many, the pressure becomes intolerable....

[Gysi] We have to get used to being subjected to a certain pressure. Of course, this is difficult for many people, in particular also for functionaries, because they are not used to it. So far, they have made the decisions and what they decided was done. Suddenly, the situation is totally different.

[ND] There are ideas that in order to remove the pressure that you just mentioned, the SED-PDS should state that it will not participate in the elections. Is this a realistic idea?

[Gysi] I would like to have an answer to the question: Which party should those who want to vote for a party of democratic socialism vote for? Why should they be deprived of voting?

SED-PDS Denies Giving College to SPD

AU3101151890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "On Property"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] states that, contrary to reports by Western television, it is neither planned nor agreed to hand over the building of the party college to the Social Democratic Party [SPD]. Only the utilization of rooms by the SPD has been discussed. The SPD has not been offered compensation for its former property, either. Much rather, the SED-PDS is giving up a large part of party-owned enterprises, which will be transferred either to cooperative or state ownership. If they are transferred to state ownership, the government has been recommended to examine the transferral of the title to new parties and movements, that is, also to the SPD.

SPD's Boehme Discusses Necessary Measures

AU3101144890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jan 90 pp 3,4

[Interview with Ibrahim Boehme, Social Democratic Party Executive secretary, by Reiner Oschmann and Peter Kirschey in Berlin on 20 January: "The Role of the Favorite at the Elections for My Party? I Answer With a Clear 'Yes'"]

[Excerpts] [ND] In commentaries after your recent delegates' conference, it was said that, compared with the other new parties and groups, at least one knows what to expect from the Social Democratic Party [SPD]. What does one have to expect from this party?

[Boehme] When we founded our party illegally in Schwante on 7 October 1989, we proceeded from the premise that we will have more time to provide the amount of theory that practice requires today. But no one in the world imagined that the structures would diverge and unravel so quickly, and that so many things have to be done parallel to each other. Certainly, some of our statements have been modified since Schwante, but, in fact, I am glad that our basic statements have been preserved until today.

In foreign policy, the European home has to be shaped without leaving out a West European or East European, a south European or north European people. The two German states have a special responsibility in this, which is also derived from the history of the two German states.

We can maintain that the social market economy should be the basic principle of economic actions in ecological responsibility. Before the great change, we were mocked even by friends from the opposition. We know that the term social market economy does not only have positive connotations. Today almost all parties and groups, including the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], have put social market economy on their banners.

Concerning conscious ecological actions, we have certainly taken the right path. We know that particularly in this field many things have to be decided with technical competence in the near future. Our question concerning the law on foreigners was posed correctly and was answered correctly.

In the field of cultural policy and education policy, we have taken the right course in my view, and, in fact, I am glad that with the new name, SPD, we have a line that will also continue in the election campaign.

[ND] Concerning the problem of German unity: At the delegates' conference a statement was passed on this issue. Which periods of time do you envision?

[Boehme] At the moment, it is very difficult to talk about periods of time. In Schwante, we still proceeded from a longer period. I think that everyone who knows Germany did this, and there are some who still envision a long period, also among social democratic politicians.

On principle, we have always supported the unity of the German nation. But we do not want to do this in a way as if we had no history to be taken into consideration. This means, this unity of the German nation is to be shaped with responsibility. In Schwante, I personally thought that it would take about 5 to 10 years. In the meantime, since I have to deal intensively with the economy—following the need, not my own inclination—I have realized that this unity will come sooner.

I think that within 2 to 3 years, we will be linked to the European Currency Unit and that we will be in the single European market within 2 to 3 years. I also think that over the next 2 to 3 years, it will be possible for the GDR itself to pose conditions for entering the currency and economic association and that this will not be the case in 5, 6, 7 years if experiments fail.

[ND] Which internal and external preconditions would have to be established to preserve this ability of action on the part of the GDR?

[Boehme] First the external preconditions: For me this means, first and foremost, freeing the neighboring states of their fear of German unity. Second, I would say that the two German states soon have to come to a peace treaty with the victorious powers. Concerning the internal conditions: We are under pressure for action in the economy. I consider the currency union and economic cooperation as very important for the near future. I think it is important that over the next few weeks we do the decisive things to preserve our self-determination. I think that the internal conditions include that things have to be done at the same time in many fields. Thus, models of approach have to be established in the education sector, too. [passage omitted]

[ND] Which alliance status would you consider necessary for a united Germany?

[Boehme] I would prefer a neutral status; and I am very optimistic in this respect. Against the background of what is developing in Eastern Europe at the moment, I think that the alliance question will have eliminated itself within the next 5 to 10 years. In my view, the Warsaw Pact has only a consultative status at the moment, and NATO will be forced to completely reconsider its defense concept. I think that the presence of the Soviet forces will end not only over the next 10 years, as the Soviet foreign minister said 2 months ago, but that the Soviet presence will end far sooner given the further development of these processes of detente—such as at the latest negotiations in Vienna—and that, therefore, the presence of the Western allies in Western Europe, in particular that of the United States, will be reduced.

[ND] In case of unification, for many people the unique historical chance of countering the capitalist system of the FRG with a true alternative would be lost. Why not a closer partnership with the FRG and still preserve our own path?

[Boehme] I think that one should rather consider the positive things in the GDR's awareness that can be contributed to a united Germany.

[ND] What would that be?

[Boehme] I have an ambivalent view concerning this problem. The safety and protection in the GDR was a burden for many people, but even under this burdening protection, structures of solidarity have developed that one should not abandon in any case. When the euphoria of the meetings between Germans from the two republics is over, everything will become visible: our helplessness, the real economic situation, the beginning of the unraveling of education and cultural structures, the currently diverging administrations in the districts and areas.... All this can be overcome only with structures of solidarity. This is what one should contribute, above all.

[ND] The FRG's SPD has named "sponsor areas" for the sister party in the GDR. What about your independence?

[Boehme] This is right, there are sponsorships. But they are not such as when a big sister gives the little one only what she has to; but we said that we accept, even ask for, election aid in the election campaign speeches by Willy Brandt and Hans-Jochen Vogel, by Johannes Rau, Oskar Lafontaine, etc. We ask for this help, but you will soon note that our people will also turn up in the election campaign in the FRG, in Austria, Sweden, in Brussels, and in similar places. At the moment the dates are being negotiated. [passage omitted]

[ND] According to its own words, the GDR's SPD already considers itself the winner of the elections in May. Do you also see yourself as the new head of government?

[Boehme] At the moment, so many competent people are entering the SPD in the areas and districts that it will really be difficult to select top politicians for the elections. The role of the favorite at the elections for my party? I answer this with a clear "yes."

SPD Member Opposes SED-PDS 'Defectors'

AU3101152290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jan 90

[ADN/ND report: "Party Defectors Not Wanted in SPD"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—A seamless transition from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of

Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] to the Social Democratic Party [SPD] is impossible because of the completely opposite program and the different understanding of democracy, Stefan Finger, member of the SPD Executive Committee, said on Tuesday [23 January]. As incredible as the sudden change of mind, is also the taking "refuge" of a great number of former SED members in the SPD, he added. All SED-PDS members who have left their party or intend to do so should remain unaffiliated at least until after the elections on 6 May for reasons of credibility and should practice the formation of democratic will, the press release continues.

Upcoming Extraordinary FDGB Congress Noted

AU3001061090 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 24 Jan 90 p 1

[NZ report: "Reestablishing Trust"]

[Text] East Berlin (NZ)—A week from today an extraordinary congress of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] will start in Berlin. About 2,600 delegates are expected to come to discuss and decide important reforms of trade union work in enterprises and institutions. These reforms involve, above all, the draft of a "law on the rights of the GDR trade unions," a new FDGB statute, and further steps for the successful representation of interests of the working people in the social and economic area. The congress of trade union reform will take 2 days.

Answering questions by representatives of the media at a news conference, Werner Peplowski, chairman of the preparation committee, stressed that great activities by the trade union members and their leaderships are necessary in order to ensure the legitimate rights of the workers and employees under GDR law, in particular in implementing and enforcing the new forms of management in the GDR—he mentioned, among other things, enterprises with foreign capital participation. In total, at present it is necessary to reestablish the broken trust in the FDGB, independent of parties, of the state and of other forces, also of parliaments for whose seats the FDGB will probably not nominate any candidates.

The FDGB is to develop into an association of free industrial and other trade unions. The old FDGB apparatus will be dismantled, it was said. One will make do with a small umbrella organization of the federation to hold things together. Social insurance remains the responsibility of the FDGB as long as the state maintains its high subisdies. The FDGB holiday program will also be preserved, however, not without adjustment to the changed demand from at home and abroad; the vacation homes of former "armed organs" have already been integrated. At present the FDGB property amounts to M4.2 billion. The financial power of the trade union is unbroken. There are not yet any "strike accounts" of the FDGB and there is also no money for them.

Extraordinary TU Congress Begins 31 Jan

LD3101093390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0810 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An extraordinary trades union congress opened in the Palace of the Republic this morning. Some 2,600 delegates, representing about 8.5 million members of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], will be discussing, in 2 days of consultations, ways and goals of representing trade union interests under the conditions of a social market economy. The aim is the constitution of the FDGB as a federation of strong and independent industrial trade unions.

The congress will be examining drafts for a new statute, an action program and a trade union law. The delegates will also elect new leading bodies.

In the period between the resignation in early December of the entire national executive committee elected in 1987 and the extraordinary congress, the FDGB has been managed by a preparatory committee.

Disputes Interrupt Congress

LD3101110290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0903 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary trade union congress was interrupted this morning, just 40 minutes after it opened. The reason was disagreements among the delegates on questions of the agenda and election procedure. In a vote, 1,248 of the 2,512 delegates present were against a full-time FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] passive [i.e. eligibility for office] voting right at the congress. This proposal caused great controversy and led to tumultuous scenes in the hall. Some of the delegates threatened to leave the congress.

Corruption Noted

LD3101190590 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] Extraordinary Congress intends to pass a draft union law this evening in order to introduce it at the next session of the People's Chamber. Speakers in the debate stressed that extension and laying down of trade union rights must occur before the elections in March. If this does not happen, they threaten a general strike. The congress declared that autonomy in bargaining and new forms of campaign such as ballots and strikes are an urgent necessity. Many speakers rejected the disbanding of the FDGB and spoke in favor of its transformation into an umbrella organization.

Earlier, a commission had reported on abuse of office, corruption, and the squandering of union property under Harry Tisch. As of last year, and going back to 1984, M100 million of solidarity money were made available for the FDJ [Free German Youth] Whitsun meeting. Over M3 million were poured into Tisch's hunting estate

at Eixen. Apart from this the FDGB transferred to the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] hard currency receipts totalling millions of marks. The commission has laid charges against several former functionaries and the union intends to apear as a party claiming damages at Tisch's trial.

'Controversial Debates' Held

LD3101210990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1908 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Following controversial debates, the approximately 2,500 delegates to the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] Extraordinary Congress in Berlin today came out by a majority for keeping the traditional name FDGB. It is necessary, most of all, for the first time ever to give meaning to the title, it was said following the announcement of the result of the vote.

Telegrams and telephone calls from the grass roots, who were able to follow proceedings live on radio, earlier reminded delegates to end the lengthy discussion of procedural questions and turn to the main points of the new trade union policy.

The urgent appeal "Fight for the unity of the trade unions, don't split up!" were the first words addressed by the chairman of the preparatory committee for the congress, Werner Peplowski, to the delegates representing 8.6 million trade unionists. What is needed is a new beginning to trade unions in the GDR, strong industrial and other trade unions under an umbrella federation, he stressed in the committee's report. [passage omitted]

Following controversial discussions, the report of the preparatory committee was passed by a majority. The same applied to the conclusions reached by the investigating commission. The delegates took note of the finance and business reports and the report of the Central Auditing Commission. The report of the Mandate Commission, which noted that 93 percent of the delegates were directly elected by the grass roots, met with approval.

Following a majority vote for keeping the name FDGB, the delegates began a debate of the draft statute.

The congress continues tomorrow.

Becomes Unified Organization

LD0102112490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0956 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] of the GDR is from today a unified trade union umbrella organization. This emerges from a new statute adopted by a large majority today at the Extraordinary FDGB Congress in Berlin.

The statute, which will be in force until the next regular federal congress, stipulates the independence of the industrial trade unions and other trade unions in one umbrella organization. The latter will represent the shared interests of its member organizations in the sphere of economic, employment, wages, social, legal, environmental, health, scientific, educational and cultural policy. [passage omitted]

Mausch To Head Executive

LD0102185490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1419 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Helga Mausch, 45, from the industrial trade union, Mining Energy, was elected on Thursday in Berlin as the chairwoman of the acting executive of the GDR trade union umbrella association, FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation]. Approximately 8.6 million trade unionists belong to the FDGB. [passage omitted]

Action Program Adopted

LD0102225490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary congress of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] in Berlin today adopted an action program that demands the quickest possible ensuring of the trade unions' right to codetermination of all forms of ownership of enterprises through the relevant legislation. Among the things necessary to guarantee this are a trade union law, an amendment to the Labor Code, and a law for the regulation of labor conflicts.

The FDGB supports a rapid and comprehensive economic reform that corresponds to the basic interests of the working people and safeguards and develops the social standards achieved. The struggle for social security should become a main part of the trade union representation of interests. The action program demands the protection and preservation of the environment and is in favor of the development and use of new machinery and technology being evaluated more strongly on the basis of its social utility and tolerability and on its ecological safety and balance. In addition, the trade unions support future-orientated education for all and a modern cultural society.

European Party Publishes Its Goals

AU0102110590 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 24 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Open Borders Must Prevail"]

[Text] A vacuum has developed in the social life of our country that replaces a ruined hierarchical system. In this vacuum, the idea of simply taking over existing Western models is increasingly gaining ground, the idea of "directly approaching the German-German desire for national unity without any delay." These efforts give rise to great doubts, even though they express the will of a

large part of the population, in particular in the southern districts of our country. This is opposed by statements at the European and international level, and this problem can also give rise to serious dangers. We provide an alternative to this—the European Party. We call on all GDR citizens and on all Europeans living here. We form a movement for the unification of Europe in peace, freedom, and equality.

The unity of our nation is the first task in this. We advocate the strict observation of the mentality of the various nations and their people as well as of the ethnic minorities in the country. Out of these demographic, psychological, and sociological considerations, we, as Germans, particularly think of the two German states, the other German-speaking countries, and the states in which there are German minorities.

We support the efforts by all for equal quality of life. This means:

—Maintaining and enforcing open borders, eliminating compulsory visas and duties for all European states. An exchange rate that is acceptable to the people.

—Mutual living, studying, working, etc. in the various countries in line with common guidelines, which have to be worked out (problem of compulsory transfer).

—Recognition, equal status, and support for learning all languages, as well as dealing with folk art and other things typical of a country.

—Coming to terms with history and recognition of history, religion, etc. Cooperation in all fields of social and personal life of the people (media, education, health sector, etc).

—Dealing with ecological issues as an essential basis of our efforts. Man is part of nature, which has to be preserved.

We achieve this through

—steady work, social distribution, no privileges and bureaucracy.

—We support the economic reform of parties and movements that do not permit any harm to the living conditions of the people. Help by independent European economists for learning new forms of progressive economic policy is recommended explicitly and as soon as possible.

—A common security doctrine on the basis of the CSCE process of the European states, disarmament, withdrawal of the Soviet and allied troops from the GDR, the FRG, and all other European countries. Using the thus-freed means for the aforementioned purposes and goals.

—Influencing the concepts of multinational concerns in the West, as well as similar associations and responsible state administrations in the East, to work, change, or dissolve in the aforementioned sense.

We are absolutely against any expressions of fascism, Stalinism, terrorism, and all superpower ideas that run contrary to our efforts. We are open to all similar initiatives in the GDR and to all European efforts of the same kind. For a united Europe in peace, freedom, and equality!

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* Nuclear Power Plant Expansion Problems Noted

90EG0140A Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Jan 90 p 15

[Article signed "K.B.," datelined Stendal/Greifswald, 21 Jan 90: "Holdups in Expanding Nuclear Power in the GDR"]

[Text] The West has long been aware of ambitious plans to exploit nuclear energy in the GDR. However, during their visit to the nuclear power plant sites in Greifswald and Stendal, FRG Minister for Environment Klaus Toepfer and his staff were surprised at how far new construction has progressed. The dimensions of the construction site in Stendal are also much greater than had been imagined. In the past, there were repeated announcements to the effect that the expansion program was experiencing significant delays. However, at the giant construction site in Stendal, 50 km from the border, the dome will soon be placed on the first block of four planned reactors. A huge crane from Mannesmann-Demag is already in place for the job; its brilliant yellow color is in contrast to the grayness of the construction site.

The site of the plant, on former farmland on the Elbe River, is so extensive that one has the impression that it is as big as that of BASF in Ludwigshafen. The plant and construction management believes that they now have a reliable calculation for the first two reactors. Including all secondary facilities, the pipeline system, and road construction, an investment level of 17.4 billion GDR marks has been reached. It is not yet possible to estimate the cost of the other two reactors.

The first nuclear power plant should go into operation in 1994. The ninth party congress of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] had resolved that it should be ready in 1991. Construction has been under way since 1982. The reactors are the Soviet WWER type, with an output of 1,000 megawatts. The abbreviation "WWER" stands for water-water energy reactor, a pressurized water reactor. After the shock of Chernobyl, the designers and enterprises in the USSR made an effort to increase the level of safety. It is said on the construction site that the first reactor alone has been improved by 68 safety measures. A great deal of time has passed since the

individual improvements were adopted. Since there are problems with the material in the first Greifswald reactors, steel is being purchased from the FRG and Belgium at tangibly higher prices.

The crew at work on the Stendal construction site consists of more than 10,000 workers. Work proceeds around the clock. One shift lasts 12 hours. After eight days, each shift crew gets that same period of time off. Almost as many people are at work on three other reactors near the Baltic Sea resort of Lubmin, on Greifswalder Lake. No Soviet designers and power plant builders were to be seen during Toepfer's visit.

The GDR nuclear power plant program dates back to a 1955 government agreement with the USSR. Its name is "Agreement on Assistance by the USSR to the GDR in the Area of Nuclear Physics and of Utilization of Atomic Energy for the Needs of the National Economy." Even experts in the GDR only recently learned details about the inside of the reactors, which the Soviet nuclear energy industry erected and will continue to build. It was not possible to develop a separate GDR nuclear technology, says director-general Reiner Lehmann of the "Bruno Leuschner" Nuclear Power Plants Combine, which operates all the nuclear power plants in the GDR, including a storage site for low- and medium-active waste in the former salt pit at Morsleben, across the border from Helmstedt. For the sake of safety, he says, the GDR is now entering into expanded cooperation, especially with the FRG, which in an international comparison ensures the highest standards in nuclear technology.

The GDR nuclear power program was begun in 1966 with the operation of a reactor in Rheinsberg with an output of only 70 megawatts. It is used primarily for training. The prudence and skill of the personnel must make up for shortcomings in technical safety in the nuclear power plants in operation. Construction began in the Lubmin moor in 1967. There, a series of reactors with an output of 440 megawatts was developed. From 1973 to 1979, four power plants were developed. A fifth one was started up last year but was soon shut down again, reportedly due to safety flaws. Construction of the sixth reactor is at an advanced stage. Work has already begun on a seventh and eighth reactor.

With the first four blocks, which were fully extended during Toepfer's visit, the Nuclear Power Plants Combine produces 10 percent of the electricity used by the GDR, with nearly 8,000 employees. In addition, 15,000 dwellings, 45 industrial enterprises, 15 schools, public facilities, and a greenhouse are supplied with district heating. District heating is planned for Stendal as well.

After storage directly at the reactor in Greifswald, the used-up fuel elements go to an intermediate storage facility. There, the radioactivity in the fuel elements is supposed to decay for at least 5 years. According to the nuclear power plant combine, no thought is given to the further treatment of this highly radioactive waste. Nor do the operators of the power plant and the Office for Atomic Safety and Radiation Protection have to think about this, since Moscow has guaranteed East Berlin in a treaty that the burned-out nuclear fuel rods will be taken away by the USSR. This has happened in the past. At the moment, however, word has it that no fuel elements are being handed over. There are apparently several reasons that the USSR is delaying its acceptance of the elements. It is insisting on the cool-off time of five years in Greifswald. As far as can be ascertained, there is no processing of the fuel elements in the USSR. They have to be stored there as well. The intermediate storage facility in Greifswald is adequate for a long period of time, and according to information from FRG experts it is in good shape. The hesitation in accepting the fuel elements could also have to do with Soviet authorities wanting to negotiate for a price more favorable to them.

Major holdups are emerging in the further expansion of nuclear power in the GDR. The technology must be improved. If inspection of the power plants within the framework of German-German cooperation should reveal that it is not possible to adequately refit the systems and that it makes no sense economically, shutdowns will be inevitable. There are reasons to assume that the even greater bottlenecks in the GDR energy supply that would result from this could be eliminated through a partnership with FRG companies. Rumor has it that reactors from the Konvoi series by Siemens Kraftwerk Union are to be operated in the GDR as a joint venture between the PreussenElektra and Bayernwerk power companies. Plant chief Lehmann's reaction: "This information from the FRG is utterly unfounded."

Inquiries Into Police 'Attacks' Open

LD0102200690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1717 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin state prosecutor has started inquiries against leading officers as a result of comprehensive investigations into attacks by policemen on 7 and 8 October.

According to a release conveyed to ADN today, inquires have been started against the head, at that time, of the temporary arrest headquarters in Blankenburger Pflasterweg for deprivation of liberty and crude violations of the human dignity of 76 people.

There are also inquiries going on against the head of the arrest headquarters in Immanuelkirchstrasse, as well as against the police officer who is strongly suspected of ordering the use of water cannon against citizens. He is accused of bodily harm among other things.

Inquiries are also proceeding against the head of the deployment of security police [schutzpolizei] in the Alexanderplatz area on charges of deprivation of liberty.

As was further announced, the GDR's attorney general has started inquiries against two deputy presidents of the Berlin People's Police and against those who were

responsible at that time at the former Ministry for State Security for deprivation of liberty.

At the moment, 11 trials are pending at Berlin municipal borough courts against policemen in connection with the attacks.

New Paper Replaces NATIONAL-ZEITUNG

LD0102112290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0110 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday, the first edition of the BERLINER ALLGEMEINE paper appeared in the GDR. It is in place of the NATIONAL-ZEITUNG that was published by the National-Democratic party of Germany (NDPD). In its banner, the paper describes itself as "Newspaper for Politics, Economics, Science, Culture and Sport." [passage omitted]

New Weekly DIE ANDERE Published

AU3001060690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] East Berlin—The first edition of the new weekly DIE ANDERE [The Other One] will be available on the market as of Friday [26 January]. The paper, which calls itself independent and supraregional, has a print run of 100,000 copies and is to be available all over the country.

Horn Welcomes Bush Disarmament Proposal

LD0202085590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister has stated that there is no obstacle, from a military viewpoint, to the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Gyula Horn described as one-sided those opinions in the Soviet press which have been alleging this.

The head of Hungary's diplomacy, in NEPSZABADSAG, described President Bush's disarmament proposal as positive, because it envisages radical troop reductions in the Western half of the continent as well. After over 40 years, it is high time to begin the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in Europe, said Gyula Horn.

Horn Says Country 'Rooting for Gorbachev'

LD0202101790 Budapest MTI in English 0936 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn Welcomed President Bush's Proposal for reducing armed forces in Europe as "expressly positive and coinciding in many respects with Hungarian ideas." Mr Horn expressed the conviction that the "Soviet party would also make a positive approach" to the proposal. In an interview carried by Friday's "NEPSZABADSAG," Mr Horn stressed that "there is no military obstacle" to the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. He termed the views published in the Soviet press before the bilateral talks on the pull-out were launched as one-sided and "inappropriately taking account of the realities."

Mr Horn said, "It is untrue, for instance, that the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is justified by military considerations."

Turning then to the rumours—which have been denied—about Gorbachev's resignation, Mr Horn said, "We're rooting for Gorbachev to remain in office. His personality could be a guarantee that perestroyka will continue in the Soviet Union," but added, "at long last, genuine changes should start."

The Hungarian foreign minister went on, "Not even the Soviet Union can evade introducing a multi-party system, which is the essence of pluralism...no economy can be radically changed without market relations, and the Soviet Union is no exception to this."

Talks on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Begin

LD0102180690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Hungarian-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary have begun in Budapest. At the discussion, which is expected to last 2 days, the detailed schedule for the departure of military units will be discussed. The Hungarian National Assembly yesterday authorized the government to urge the full withdrawal of Soviet troops as soon as possible.

Estonian People's Front Delegation Leaves

LD1701175890 Budapest MTI in English 1605 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—The delegation of the Estonian People's Front left Budapest on Wednesday.

Headed by Edgar Savisaar, member of the Presidium of the Estonian People's Front, deputy prime minister and minister of planning of the Soviet Socialist republic of Estonia, the delegation held talks about issues of political, economic and cultural cooperation between Hungary and Estonia.

The delegation met Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, president of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, Erno Kemenes, president of the National Planning Office, Istvan Kukorelli, acting president of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, as well as leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Democratic Forum Satisfied with Moscow Talks

LD1801134490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The delegation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has had discussions in Moscow with CPSU representatives. Gabor Izbeki reports:

[Begin Izbeki recording] The leader of the MDF delegation expressed his satisfaction with the Moscow discussions. This was the first delegation of a Hungarian opposition party to hold discussions in the Soviet capital; moreover, no East European opposition party delegation has been received officially in moscow at all up till now.

(Gyorgy Samsoa), member of the MDF board and the chairman's economic advisor, said after the discussions that they were reassured by the Soviet intention to hold discussions, in the case of Hungary, too, with whatever government comes to power at the elections; this is regardless of ideological and other considerations.

Oleg Ribakov, a deputy department head in the CPSU Central Committee, also confirmed to the MDF that the Soviet Union is ready to continue to deliver to Hungary oil, gas, and other energy cargo and raw materials at the current level.

The Soviet side pointed out, according to the head of the MDF delegation, that they are interested in a complete transforamtion of CEMA, while they would like to gradually switch to convertible-accounting trade, on the basis of agreement by the two sides.

It was also mentioned in the discussion that the Soviet Union would also be pleased to receive Jozsef Antall, chairman of the MDF. [end recording]

Pozsgay Meets Shamir; Ends Visit to Israel

LD0202072490 Budapest MTI in English 2126 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, February 1 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay concluded his five-day visit to Israel, with talks in Jerusalem. The minister of state visited the historical city for the second time during the trip, and now held talks with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir.

After the meeting with the Israeli prime minister, Pozsgay told MTI: Contrary to his earlier talks with other Israeli leaders, he mainly informed Yitzhaq Shamir about the Hungarian political changes, rather than about the economy. With respect to the latter, the two politicians mainly discussed the situation of tourism between the two countries. Pozsgay said his negotiating partner attached major importance to this theme.

Regarding relations between the citizens of the two countries, Yitzhaq Shamir mentioned the anti-Semitic manifestations in Hungary. He asked whether there are guarantees that the Hungarian Government and society will be able to resist such emotions? Pozsgay asked Shamir not to over-estimate this phenomena on the basis of unconfirmed information. Bear in mind, Pozsgay said, that with the fulfillment of freedom of opinion, emotions which did not surface over the past four decades also are expressed. The minister of state stressed that the Hungarian legal order considers the revival of racism to be a crime.

Pozsgay announced: Yitzhaq Shamir expressed the gratitude of Israel over the fact that Hungary has become the transit country of Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union.

Summing up his five-day visit, Imre Pozsgay said the talks with the Israeli politicians were held in an atmosphere of genuine friendship. His partners set forth that Israel continues to be an isolated country, at the same time, they did not wish to determine how Hungary should help the Jewish state in the foreign political arena. They also did not raise demands for Budapest to break off its relations with some other country or people, in the interest of Israel.

Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, Pozsgay's negotiating partner on Thursday, also gave a brief statement to MTI. With respect to possible Israeli-Palestinian talks in Cairo, he said the Jewish state is currently continuing coordination with officials of the United States and Egypt. Although major difficulties face the talks, the Israeli leadership hopes that dialogue will come about in the end.

In answer to a question on when he expects the full renewal of Soviet-Israeli relations, the prime minister said: This question should rather be asked from the leaders in Moscow, as the matter depends on them.

Yitzhaq Shamir termed the information he received from Pozsgay on the Hungarian political transformation to be important. He considered as very interesting the experiences of renewing relations between the two countries after so many years of isolation.

Imre Pozsgay is to return to Budapest on Friday afternoon.

N. Atlantic Assembly Head Comments on Visit

LD1801223390 Budapest MTI in English 2102 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—On Thursday, George Bruce, president of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly, told the press that his visit to Hungary had been particularly useful. The 19-member delegation arrived in Hungary on January 16 at the invitation of the Committees of Defence and Foreign Affairs of parliament. On Thursday, the delegation visited the Ministry of Defence and met Brigadier General Ferenc Szombathelyi, deputy minister. During its stay in Hungary, the delegation met security policy experts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In reply to questions, Mr Bruce said they obtained plenty of information about the Hungarian People's Army, the recent and forthcoming changes in the life of the Army, and some issues of security policy and confidence-building concerning the Warsaw Treaty.

On Thursday, the delegation met representatives of the Committees of Defence and Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly. The Canadian member, referring to the joint Canadian-Hungarian initiative called 'Open Skies', raised the idea of convening a conference, 'Open Parliaments', with the participation of European and North American parliaments. Janos Berecz, president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament, said Hungary would be willing to host the conference.

On Thursday, the delegation met Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of parliament.

Nemeth Calls for Reorganization of Europe

AU0102133790 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 1 Feb 90 p 9

[Jan Riebesehl report: "In United Europe There Is No Room for Blocs"]

[Text] Strasbourg—Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth thinks that the dissolution of the military blocs in the development toward a democratic and united Europe is unavoidable. In an interview with DIE WELT, he stressed at the same time that a "change of mood" in Moscow could mean the immediate end of reforms.

At the beginning of the week, Nemeth signed two conventions at a session of the parliamentary assembly of

the Council of Europe: one on cross-border television and another against drugs. The signing of the conventions is an intermediate step in establishing closer ties with the Council of Europe. Budapest applied for full membership in mid-November 1989. The Council of Europe proceeds on the assumption that Hungary will fulfill the terms of admission by August.

"The Hungarian nation has always been aware that it is part of Europe," Nemeth said in the interview; "unfortunately, it was not able to practice this in the past four decades." The 42-year-old man stressed that no time must be lost in implementing the reforms. "Of course, we feel that we are pressed for time on our reforms and in our gradual reintegration into European life. However, in this respect, we share the fate of all other nations of central, Eastern, and southeast Europe. Every day we say prayers of thanksgiving because there has been and still is a Mikhail Gorbachev. A change of mood in Moscow could mean the immediate end. The opposition parties and the government agree on this. Many still have the experience of 1956 in their systems."

The first free elections in Hungary after more than 40 years will be held on 25 March; the election campaign is approaching its climax. Nemeth stressed that he is in favor of a multiparty system. For example, part of the buildings which had been vacated when the old party apparatus was dissolved were given to various parties. He added with an embarrassed smile that, of course, the wishes of the opposition exceed the capacities.

Nemeth warned against overly optimistic expectations: "The way back to the alliance of European nations is laborious. I warn again and again against illusions, against the expectation that all the wrongs can be corrected overnight. We have a great backlog and must catch up. We must work hard to be competitive in the free market economy. This is also something we must learn."

"We also must learn again to do brainwork, because we were used to others doing it for us for far too long a time, which had disastrous consequences. This reformist process which leads us back to Europe must again become the work of all. The change in Hungary was begun from above and was supported by the general public. If it is successfully implemented, it might be regarded as the model in civilized Europe because, thank God, there has not been any violence."

In Nemeth's opinion, reforms in Hungary triggered the changes in neighboring countries and must result in changes in all of Europe. "The tremendous changes in the East European countries—with Poland and Hungary playing a leading role—are not confined to individual nations. They will change the face of Europe and therefore require reorganization. Thus, the military blocs must be dissolved. In a united Europe based on peaceful and democratic principles, there will be no room for military blocs."

Medgyessy Receives Croatian Government Head

LD2001015390 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antun Milovic, head of the Croatian Government, held talks in Budapest on Friday [19 January]. The sides stated that the comprehensive Hungarian-Yugoslav and, within that, Hungarian-Croatian relations showed a favourable trend. In an atmosphere free from political problems, bilateral economic cooperation is developing dynamically.

The sides paid distinguished attention to cooperation in power engineering, first of all in the electric energy industry, the exploration and exploitation of natural gas reserves along the border, and the connection of the two countries' gas networks.

It was established that cultural cooperation was developing in a proper direction, and special stress was laid on meeting the demands of the national minorities living in the two countries. The sides agreed it would be useful to hold a scientific conference on the minorities as soon as possible and issue a joint Hungarian-Yugoslav statement on cooperation in this field.

In a press conference following the talks, Mr Milovic emphasized the importance of bilateral economic cooperation. He said economic relations should be adapted to the standards of the market, and termed the public limited company as the most suitable form of joint investment.

Mr Milovic said Croatia was also interested in the infrastructural projects related to the Vienna-Budapest World Expo, first of all in the extension of the road network and the construction of a motor road between lake Balaton and the Adriatic Sea. Mr Milovic said he worked out a proposal, under which Hungary and Yugoslavia would jointly ask their foreign creditors to allow them to convert a part of the debts into ecological investment.

National Assembly Session Continues

Deputies Ask Questions

LD0202052390 Budapest MTI in English 2243 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—After approving the resolution on the declaration of financial standing and assets to be made by leaders, parliament continued its work with interpellations and questions.

MP [Member of Parliament] Erno Raffay of Szeged, a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), asked the representative of the Ministry of the Interior what steps have been taken with respect to the final elimination of assets that belonged to the disbanded workers militia. Zoltan Gal, the acting leader of the

ministry, answered in writing. Accordingly, the military technical means have been handed over to the Hungarian Peoples Army, thus the former militiamen have no service weapons, they do, however, still have their uniforms and documents. The former members of the Workers Militia have at most self-defence pistols, but these are also being collected at present.

Raffay also asked the foreign minister about settling the citizenship status of the ethnic Hungarian refugees from Romania. Raffay wanted to know what the government intends to do, and when, to settle the citizenship status of the refugees and resettled citizens whose mother language is Hungarian.

Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, said that this issue is regulated by the bilateral Hungarian-Romanian agreement which came into effect on February 11, 1980. The agreement excludes the possibility of dual citizenship. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry made several efforts last year to amend the agreement, however, the Romanian side did not respond. Taking into consideration that the second five-year period of the agreement will run out on February 11, 1990, the Foreign Ministry proposed on Thursday in a note to the Romanian side to jointly suspend the related regulation (Article 11 of the agreement) until the agreement is amended, or a new agreement is concluded. The Hungarian side asked the Romanian side to reply by February 8. In case a reply is received, the agreement will be suspended, if no answer is given to the note, then the Hungarian side will unilaterally cancel the agreement.

The January session of parliament ended with the interpellations.

Session Ends; To Resume 27 Feb

LD0102232590 Budapest MTI in English 1918 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—The January session of the National Assembly ended on Thursday, a few minutes before 5 p.m. MPs [members of parliament] discussed 13 points on the agenda, and failed to reach a decision about two bills.

Interpretation of the family law will fall to the Constitutional Court, and will then be submitted to the MPs at the next session, to open on February 27. A decision on the bill on the legal standing of MPs will also be made then.

Szuros Announces Parties Summit Meeting

LD0202053290 Budapest MTI in English 2055 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—A summit meeting of the Hungarian parties is expected to be held in Budapest on February 7.

The meeting will be attended by the interim president of the republic, the acting speaker of parliament, and the prime minister, said Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, at an election rally held on Thursday in Debrecen. The meeting is necessary in the interest of the peaceful organization of the elections, he said.

Sopron To Nominate Pozsgay for Election

LD2001225190 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—The organizations of the Hungarian Socialist party [HSP/MSZP] in Sopron and its vicinity are to nominate Imre Pozsgay for the parliamentary elections in March, it was announced in Sopron on Saturday.

Imre Pozsgay, who accepted his nomination, said that the Hungarian Socialist Party contributed a great deal to the struggle to overthrow the state-socialist dictatorship.

The Hungarian Socialist party wishes to see the documents from the December national summit appearing in public to show people which political forces are to be trusted today.

Pozsgay emphasized that the HSP was not implicated in the bugging scandal.

MSZP Presidium Views Party Role

LD2101140990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] believes it can no longer be called a state party and it is also not the government party, in the old sense.

Therefore, the Presidium believes the accusations, laid on them by other political forces, are unfounded. According to their evaluation, the situation is so dangerous that unless something is done, it is possible that party members will leave the government for good.

One of the members of the MSZP Presidium gave a statement to the VASARNAPI HIREK that if a situation is created to ensure a clean election campaign without extreme attacks, it is possible the party will withdraw its representatives from the government. Ivan Vitanyi said his party is increasingly being accused, not just once in an extreme tone, and it is being made responsible for a number of unpopular government decisions, to which the other parties have also previously given their consent.

Therefore, in the socialists' leadership, many people believe the party must not undertake anything else, even the appearance of governmental responsibility, unless another interparty agreement is established.

Therefore, the MSZP, as it is known, has again proposed new national meetings in its statement issued the other day.

MSZP National Coordinating Committee Formed

AU2201204690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Jan 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Sandor Balogh, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) National Coordination Committee, by unidentified correspondent in Budapest on 13 January: "An Ethical Code Is Under Preparation—MSZP Officials Will Make Property Declarations—A National Coordination Committee Has Been Formed"]

[Text] The National Coordination Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] held its founding session on 13 January. The body agreed with the position of the Presidium according to which it is necessary for the party officials, members of its leading bodies, and its National Assembly deputies to make ethical and property declarations. The new body decided to contribute to working out the party's ethical code and disciplinary rules.

Following the meeting, Sandor Balogh answered our questions:

[Reporter] Many people think that the National Coordination Committee has a similar function within the MSZP as the Central Control Committee used to have in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Is this evaluation correct?

[Balogh] Not at all. Our role in society and our political responsibility are totally different and so is the party itself. The Central Control Committee has never been simply a party body. Its decisions destroyed lives and broke careers. Although not legally, in practice the Central Control Committee was one means of limiting the citizens' rights. However, it did not have a sphere of authority similar to its counterparts in some East European countries where these committees could also stop the supply of part of one's pension; employers in Hungary could not disregard its decisions either. Our committee has no means of limiting the citizens' rights. We can influence things outside the party in one way only: by making sure that our decisions meet with the public's ethical value judgments.

[Reporter] The meeting also dealt with the creation of the party's ethical code. What is the purpose of this code?

[Balogh] This code will provide a guide to the party members and will also provide information for future possible allies who sympathize with the party by clearly formulating the moral values we believe in. Under current conditions, the need for the party officials to also accept public control from an ethical viewpoint is indispensable for the party's credibility and political efficiency. The creation of a planned advisory body could contribute to the creation of the aforementioned code—which, according to the statute, is the board's task, but we will also participate in this. We are counting on the contribution of outstanding figures, academicians, and professors like Ferenc Marta, Laszlo Valki, Aladar Sipos, Istvan Dioszegi, and Lajos Ficzere.

[Reporter] You also dealt with specific issues at the meeting. Could you tell us something about this?

[Balogh] We dealt with 17 personal requests, and we decided on 16 cases. Two people asked for recognition of their party membership prior to the liberation. Nine persons expelled from the party for their activity in 1956 have been readmitted with recognition of their original party membership date. In our view, these requests also show that we should make it clear what date we consider as the beginning of party membership, because many people complain about the current unclear situation. We canceled the former party blame of the former party secretary of Hajduszoboszlo who was punished for informing his superiors about the abuses he saw in his district. However, we did not give a positive answer to requests to cancel party disciplinary actions taken for ethical reasons. Thus, we did not cancel the party blame of the county council chairman whose acts, which violated our moral principles, had also been discussed in NEPSZABADSAG at the time.

Hungarian People's Party Chairman Elected

LD2001144190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] In a closed session, the Hungarian People's Party has elected a new chairman, writer Gyula Fekete. In addition to Gyula Fekete, who was proclaimed chairman, they confirmed Executive Chairman Janos Marton in his post. Gyula Fekete, who was a founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], will retain his HDF party membership and, in this way, will fulfill his office as chairman of the Hungarian People's Party.

Entrepreneurs Party Holds First Congress

LD2101012890 Budapest MTI in English 1928 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—To revitalize the private sector is indispensable to socio-economic advancement. It was stated at the first congress of the Entrepreneurs' Party in Budapest on Saturday [20 January].

Party President Tibor Szabo called it urgent for the new ventures to receive greater support than so far. As long as a genuine market-oriented economic policy is missing, the entrepreneurs justly feel that their demands are disregarded, he said.

The Entrepreneurs' Party demands the government should immediately discontinue with its restrictive policy. It should adopt a credit policy which allows for technical developments. The private entrepreneurs should also have a share in the loans taken or to be taken

up abroad. The party calls for the early introduction of a tax system and policy which is aimed at encouraging ventures.

The congress adopted the party statutes, passed a resolution on the most important tasks and elected the board.

National Smallholders Party Holds Board Meeting

LD2101012690 Budapest MTI in English 1940 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—The National Smallholders' Party held its first national board session in Szeged on Saturday [20 January].

According to the party statutes, which was adopted unanimously, Szeged became the centre of the National Smallholders' Party, which has recently separated from the Independent Smallholders' Party at at initiative from Szeged.

Until the board session after the elections, the party will not elect individual officials, only an executive body. One of the aims of the party is to safeguard and improve bourgeois democratic values based on Christian morality and reflecting national traits.

The party represents agricultural interests, calls for the landed property conditions of 1947 to be restored, and advocates a "new land distribution drive", under which the loss-making state farms would be distributed among urban jobless who want to return to the village to cultivate land.

The party statutes set the aim of creating the self-government of small villages, setting up a real market economy based on private property and bringing about a society which stimulates enterprising spirit and provides social security. They intend to make company workforce interested in production results through involving them in proprietorship as shareholders.

MTI Examines Export Reduction Background

LD1901184790 Budapest MTI in English 1313 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Ministry of Trade's decision to take the drastic measure of cancelling all existing rouble export licences from January 25 is seen as a bid to tackle both Hungary's soaring rouble trade surplus and a reluctance on the part of Hungarian exporters to cut back. Exporters will now have to reapply for new licences, which the ministry will allocate on a case-by-case basis.

Hungarian companies have been falling over each other to sell goods on the shortage-ridden Soviet market, even to the point of forging export licences or not even taking out proper licences at all. Imports, meanwhile, have fallen.

The trend has continued into 1990, with 227 million roubles worth of goods crossing the border into the Soviet union in the first two weeks of the year, Mr Imre Dunai, secretary of state for the Ministry of Trade, said in a Friday press sttement.

The situation is such that for the first time in Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] history, all the members are indebted to Hungary at the same time.

In 1989, Hungarian claims (for goods and services not covered by credit agreements) stood at 1.016 billion roubles on December 31, last year, as compared to only 240 million roubles a year earlier. Of this, the Soviet Union alone owed 782 million roubles on Dec. 31, 1989, as compared to 179 million roubles a year earlier.

Hungary actually amassed a Comecon trade surplus of 550 million roubles last year, instead of the planned deficit of 100-150 million. The 1988 Hungarian trade surplus was 218 million roubles, a spokesman of the Ministry of Trade informed MTI-ECONEWS.

What makes the trade and balance of payment surplus within the Comecon so catastrophic for Hungary is that because of a lack of a convertible currency, outstanding claims with one country cannot be used to buy goods in another.

Mr Dunai said that the number of new export licences will be cut in proportion to the surplus, with the Hungarian engineering industry probably hit hardest as the Soviet economy cannot do without Hungarian food and consumer goods. The cut may involve the loss of between 60,000 and 100,000 jobs in the Hungarian engineering industry, the secretary of state said.

"NEPSZABADSAG", the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] daily, quotes experts who are critical of the Trade Ministry's attempt to issue case-by-case export licences, but who acknowledge that in Comecon's present form the government is left with no alternative.

The paper suggests that the real solution would be to break with what it sees as obsolete and damaging Comecon rules based on simple exchanges of goods through barter agreements.

Defense Ministry Holds News Conference

LD2001015790 Budapest MTI in English 2007 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence, told the press on Friday [19 January] that this year Hungary was expected to host the defence ministers of France, Italy, Switzerland and Finland, the Canadian chief-of-staff, and the state secretary of defence of the FRG. The Hungarian minister of defence is scheduled to visit

Britain, the Netherlands and Poland. Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, sent an invitation to his Romanian counterpart, proposing to meet in a Romanian and a Hungarian town at the common border in the near future.

Brigadier General Csaba Liszkay, head of the Ministry's office, gave briefs on the reform of the Armed Forces, separating the organization of state administration from the military organization. Mr Liszkay said the Ministry is still directed by the minister of defence and its staff was reduced by 550-600. The state secretary of defence will be the national deputy of the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty. The single deputy minister is in charge of social policy issues. The newly established office is composed of six departments. The headquarters of the Hungarian People's Army is a military organization. The commander-in-chief of the Army will be the president of the Republic.

Mr Keleti gave briefs on a scandal concerning the People's Army. In early January, 29 classified documents disappeared from an anti-aircraft unit stationed near Szentendre, central Hungary, and some of them were found in a Dustbin. Mr Keleti said the ministry had been informed on the affair by Peter Toke, editor-in-chief of the "REFORM" weekly. On January 5, a housewife of Szentendre called up the editorial office and said she had found classified documents in the dustbin before her house. In the wake of the announcement, 160 soldiers searched through the dumping ground of the town but found nothing. Finally, the documents were found in the garden of an old woman. Two officers are suspected of having stolen the documents. Investigation by the national police headquarters is under way. The spokesman added that under the new rules of secrecy which had taken effect on December 1, 1989, some of the 29 documents are no longer considered classified.

MDF Letter to Assembly Speaker on Bugging

LD1501233790 Budapest MTI in English 1959 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—The National Board of the Hungarian Democratic Forum has sent a letter to Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the National Assembly. The letter calls for the immediate setting up of a parliamentary panel of independent MPs [members of parliament] to investigate the bugging scandal in its complexity and reveal violations of the Constitution and the law.

The minister of the interior should not inform parliament about the affair, but he should appear before the parliamentary committee for a hearing. The leaders of the Internal Security Service should not look for a traitor in their ranks and keep themselves busy watching and bugging each other, but should also answer the questions of the parliamentary committee. The prime minister should not only disassociate himself, but he should also initiate an investigation within his government as well. The interim president of the Republic should not keep silent, but he should report on how he wants to enforce the constitution. The opposition parties should demand parliamentary immunity for their informers, and when they got it [as received], they should give their names.

It has to be clarified what sort of relation the Internal Security Service has with the Soviet interior authorities, and should it violate national sovereignty, the relation has to be discontinued immediately, the letter says.

Nyers Letter to Nemeth on Party Documents

AU1901114890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jan 90 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Rezso Nyers' Letter to Miklos Nemeth on the Fate of Party Documents"]

[Text] Many television and radio programs as well as articles dealt in recent weeks with the destruction of party documents. Several political organizations dealt with this issue previously, and Imre Konya sent an open letter to you on behalf of the Independent Lawyers' Forum on 3 January. In this letter, he claims that "many tonnes of documents have been destroyed in recent weeks" and he declares that "documents related to the Communist party cannot be owned by the party."

In reply, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] issued a television statement, and the head of our parliamentary faction also spoke on this issue. We repeatedly pointed out that we had halted the destruction of all kinds of documents since 8 December 1989. (I will mention here that, before this date too, we selected and destroyed only archival materials in accordance with the archive regulations.)

However, reality seems to be unable to halt the noisy accusations. Therefore, I ask you Mr Premier to order an investigation in the affair of party documents on the basis of relevant archival regulations, and to inform the public about the results of this investigation.

I also want to point out that, with the exception of Nazi Germany, there is no other example in history of nationalizing the documents of existing parties.

Krakow Demonstrators March to USSR Consulate

LD0202035190 Warsaw PAP in English 2143 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Krakow, Feb. 1—A demonstration protesting against the actions of militia in Warsaw, Gdansk and Wroclaw was organised by the Federation of Fighting Youth FWM, Federation of Independent Poland KPN, Youth Resistance Movement of fighting Solidarity and the Afront Organisation by the monument to Adam Mickiewicz in Krakow this afternoon.

After the rally the demonstrators marched through the streets to the militia barracks and next, chanting slogan "Soviets go home," they headed for the building of the Soviet General Consulate here where they were blocked by prevention units of the militia which tried to restore order. The demonstrators threw stones and bottles with gasoline at the militiamen.

Krakow Demonstrators Protest Riot Police

LD0102230590 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] In Krakow, demonstrators protested in front of the barracks of the Prevention Units [successor to riot militia] against the brutality of the militia when it stamped out the Warsaw demonstration during the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress.

Members of the Independent Union of Militia Officers met the demonstrators in the vicinity of the barracks.

[Begin unidentified union member recording] I hear that these are Kiszczak's unions. No, these are our own genuinely independent unions, generally supported by most of the officers. We also want the people, who until now decided about how our ministry worked and about what actions were undertaken by officers employed by the ministry, to leave. Above all, we want to protect the public. [end recording]

Despite the talks, the demonstrators entered the barracks and attempted to set the water cannons on fire.

Militiamen Suspend Protest Action

LD0202035390 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Walbrzych, Feb. 1—The militiamen in Walbrzych (southwest Poland), who started a protest action on 16 January demanding personnel changes in the command of the voivodship Internal Affairs Office, suspended their action today.

The action has been suspended for the time of talks with representatives of the National Coordinating Committee of the Independent Trade Union of Militia Officers and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Militia, Security Service Separation 'Necessary'

LD0102201990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The militia's activity and planned changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs were discussed in Warsaw at a meeting of the Social Council for the Civic Militia. It was decided that the final and complete separation of the militia and security service is necessary.

Sejm Discusses Censorship, Krakow Unrest

LD0202034890 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 2—The Polish Sejm (lower house of parliament) today focused its attention on the lifting of censorship in Poland.

Also today, deputies grouped in the parliamentary caucus of the former Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) told the house that they had set up the Parliamentary Floor Group of the Democratic Left Wing (PKLD).

The majority of new group's members (over 100) do not belong to any party at the moment, 30 of them are ready to become members of the Social Democratic Union (headed by Tadeusz Fiszbach), while 22 are members of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (headed by Aleksander Kwasniewski).

On behalf of the union, Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska said that a deputy circle of members and friends of the founding group of the union had been set up. "We belong to those who protested against the continuation of PUWP's political existence under a new name," she said.

Deputy Adam Michnik, who is a journalist himself, expressed surprise (ironically) that nobody defended censorship.

He came out in favour of the deputies' draft and said that the government's draft offered some chances of abusing power.

He argued with those who feared that the liquidation of censorship might add to vulgarization of culture. "Among all the methods of defending culture against it, state's censorship is the worst," he said.

Referring to the recent unrest in Krakow where a group of hooligans demonstrated in front of the Soviet Consulate, Deputy Wieslaw Woda, speaking on behalf of the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth" (PSL "Odrodzenie") caucus, appealed to the ministers of justice and internal affairs to undertake appropriate moves so that the law could be respected.

The Sejm also examined government-proposed draft amendments to the law on state enterprises. Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk said that the draft aimed to

preserve the activity of some independent enterprises as long as they are able to meet their financial obligations to the state.

He said that enterprises should enjoy broad powers of selling their property while appropriate rules should reduce their adverse effects. There are also plans to change the status of managers.

The house sent the draft to Sejm committees.

Speaking on behalf of independent deputies, Deputy Kazimierz Wozniak told the Sejm that they were going to set up a caucus of independent deputies at the parliament.

Another member of the group, Deputy Marian J. Czerwinski told PAP that the founding group would include six people.

Ministry Warns Against Travel to Romania, USSR

LD0102121890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The Ministry for Domestic Market Department of Tourism informs Polish tourists leaving for Romania or transiting its territory that severe punishments have been introduced there—up to and including imprisonment for transgressing regulations that are in force, and in particular for attempts to carry out illegal trade with foreigners.

As a result of the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia, it has been recommended that both group and individual departures to those areas be suspended until 15 February.

As of today, in accordance with information from Soviet border authorities, the road crossing at Medyka is being closed to vehicles transiting Soviet territory.

Kwasniewski on SDRP Policy, Local Elections

LD0102102690 Warsaw PAP in English 0101 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Rome, Jan. 31—The Italian daily "LA REPUBBLICA" carries its special correspondents interview with leader of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) Aleksander Kwasniewski.

Kwasniewski expressed hope that in the nearest elections to local self-government bodies his party will prove to be stronger than Tadeusz Fiszbach's Social Democratic Union of the Republic of Poland (USDRP) provided that the latter is not enforced by an alliance with "Solidarnosc".

Kwasniewski stated the SDRP wishes to cooperate with all the forces of the left in the states belonging to the Warsaw Treaty and in the Western ones. It also wants to become a member of the Socialist International. The SDRP leader did not exclude the party's alliance with the left wing of "Solidarnosc", but he made it clear that these may be the plans for future.

Answering questions about the credibility of the new party, Kwasniewski stated that it will not be easy for representatives of the old orthodox squad to stay in the party and espressed hope that they will soon leave its ranks.

Kwasniewski Interviewed on PZPR Split

AU0202120890 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, by unidentified ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporter—date and place not given]

[Text] [Reporter] Could the split at the Congress have been avoided?

[Kwasniewski] Probably not. The unity of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] was artificially held together for so long that as soon as differences of opinion on various issues and political differences emerged, cracks occurred and divisions took place.

[Reporter] Despite the enormous organizational effort and the completely new programmatic declaration, statute, and leadership, will the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] be able to cast off the shadow of the PZPR?

[Kwasniewski] The burden of the PZPR's past will certainly be felt for some time to come throughout the left wing. The PZPR's abolition precedes a lot of hard work. This cannot be achieved by words and gestures, but by concrete actions. Our advantage over the PZPR is that we are not in power. That enables us to gradually achieve credibility.

[Reporter] How many members do you want the SDRP to have?

[Kwasniewski] The number of members will not be a real measure of the party's strength. More important is the way it attracts the electorate. It is better to have a party with 100,000 members and 1 million people who vote for it than the other way round.

[Reporter] The balance of forces and the left wing's position in Poland is making it essential for the SDRP to negotiate political alliances. With whom is that likely?

[Kwasniewski] First, we must try and come to an agreement with the left-wing groups. However, the country requires the cooperation of every political force that feels responsible for the state and society. Only then will Poland survive this most difficult period. We will be ready for such cooperation.

Rome Daily Interviews Aleksander Kwasniewski

PM0202091490 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 31 Jan 90 p 14

[Report on interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, by Andrea Tarquini—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Warsaw—"The past 40 years of communism have destroyed the Left in Poland and throughout Central Europe. We face some tough years ahead, on the long path of defeats, in rebuilding our credibility. The time has come for hard work, not easy triumphs." This was said by Aleksander Kwasniewski, who, at just 36, became leader of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland only a matter of hours ago. [introductory passage omitted]

[Tarquini] You won the congress, but are you not afraid that Fiszbach's party will beat you in the first elections?

[Kwasniewski] No, I believe that in the first elections, the local elections, we will be stronger than them. That is, unless an alliance with Solidarity strengthens Fiszbach.

[Tarquini] But will people not reject you as a Communist Party in disguise?

[Kwasniewski] The problem of credibility and identity of the left wing affects everyone. I do not see why I, who spent only 10 years in the old party, should have more credibility problems than Fiszbach, who spent 35 years in it.

[Tarquini] But many representatives of the orthodox old guard remain in your party....

[Kwasniewski] Not for long. Adapting to novelties is part of human nature, but it will be impossible to accept many of them in the new party. I really believe that they will leave us soon—perhaps in a matter of weeks.

[Tarquini] The hard-liners criticize your friendship with Michnik as a betrayal. How do you reply to that?

[Kwasniewski] Michnik is a very authoritative and important politician—one of the most influential politicians in Poland.

[Tarquini] So why not consider an alliance between you and Solidarity, or Solidarity's left wing?

[Kwasniewski] I am not saying "no;" I am just saying that it is too soon. It is possible, but not now, or in the coming months. I want to have talks as soon as possible both with Solidarity and with Fiszbach. It is too early to think of immediate alliances or agreements, but in time that will be the way. In one to two years' time, the way to go will be to form a coalition or some kind of cooperation among the various currents of the Polish Left. When I say "Left", I am referring not to ideologies but to a rational way of thinking and conducting politics.

[Tarquini] Who will be your main interlocutors in the Warsaw Pact countries: the CPSU—which, unlike you, still calls itself communist—or the new democratic leaderships?

[Kwasniewski] All the left-wing forces, without any discriminations. We are open to the major changes in the so-called socialist countries. Let us consider the example of relations with Czechoslovakia. We will talk as friends with the old Communist Party, as we will with the social democrats, the Civic Forum, and all the other democratic forces.

[Tarquini] How much do you hope to obtain in the next elections, the local elections?

[Kwasniewski] Who knows, who can say? We do not even know whether the voting will take place according to a proportional or a majority system. We will not have a majority, either in these elections or the next, or in the many other elections that Polish democracy will see. We must be prepared to spend a long time in opposition, or at any rate in a minority.

[Tarquini] What kind of relations will you seek with the Western Left? Which will be more important: the parties that still call themselves "communist" or the socialists and social democrats?

[Kwasniewski] We want relations with everyone in the West, also —definitely with the socialists, but also with the Communist Parties. However, I stress that the priority for us will be relations with the socialist and social democratic parties. We want to become a member of the International.

[Tarquini] Democratic Poland lives between a strong Germany, soon to be united, and a USSR weakened by innumerable tensions. Is this not dangerous?

[Kwasniewski] This is indeed a very dangerous time in Europe's history. On the one hand, German reunification is a reality and, I believe, it is no longer a matter of years, as we believed until only yesterday, but a matter of months. On the other hand, the Soviet tensions are very dangerous for the future of Gorbachev, and of perestroyka as a whole. This situation is somewhat reminiscent of Europe on the eve of World War I. The question is whether we will succeed in keeping all these conflicts under control.

Fiszbach Interviewed on PZPR Split

AU0202113290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with Tadeusz Fiszbach, chairman of the Social Democratic Union, by unidentified ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporter—date and place not given]

[Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why did the split occur?

[Fiszbach] I decided not to belong to any transformed Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. I do not think that

we should start a new future with the burdens of the past. Social democracy in Poland now has to be formed by people who are trustworthy, and therefore I thought that unity should not be the supreme goal. There is not much difference between our views and declarations. Nevertheless, watching the participants, I could see that a very arduous struggle between the old and the new was taking place in the Congress Hall, and the new was finding it difficult to win. The conservative forces have agreed with many things, with a change of name and a progressive program. But one cannot become a social democrat overnight, and many self-declared "social democrats" were still calling themselves Communists yesterday.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you not regret that some of those who spoke in the Congress Hall did not join you?

[Fiszbach] Yes. What is more, there are many people like that. But the choice was theirs.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How do you respond to accusations that you have created a center-left-wing party?

[Fiszbach] That is not an appropriate description. The Union's congress will decide what kind of party we are. I do not understand why some people have called us a center-left wing merely on the basis of our declaration. I do not think we have earned such a title yet.

Walesa on Leftist Parties, Threat of Anarchy

LD0202040490 Warsaw PAP in English 2340 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 1—"Observing the Polish political scene, I noticed that if anything threatens Poland, it is above all anarchy and misunderstanding," Lech Walesa told newsmen and railwaymen gathered at his weekly press conference in Gdansk on Thursday [1 February].

"We are able to carry this burden," he said, "but only together, through a joint effort. The main goal is reforms in Poland and our catching up with the world."

New Leftist Parties

Referring to new leftist parties, Walesa said he had expected something else. "I was saying that Poland needed its left wing but I wanted it to dissociate itself from the old tragic political concept and organization. I hoped that Kwasniewski and others would do this, that they would give up attempts to get repainted. What has happened delays our activities," he said.

"This party will not last long as it was not to be like that. It has no right to any assets. I did not fight for Solidarity's property because it remained in Poland after all. Those who want to take over national property also take on all that was linked with the old tragic left wing," Walesa argued.

"They say they did a lot for Poland. But the world was not at a standstill either. They did nothing. They doomed us to what we are now..."

Gdansk Shipyard

Talking about the Gdansk shipyard, Walesa stressed that its new manager enjoyed Solidarity's support. He also said that the talks had been resumed with Barbara Piasecka Johnson, a Polish millionairess from the U.S., who continued to be interested in investing in the shipyard.

"The most important task is to preserve the shipyard as a symbol of numerous struggles for reforms and modernization. But not only a symbol. We believe that the shipyard can earn its living."

Unemployment

Talking about the expected unemployment in Poland, Walesa said he had suggested in his economic programme that a possibility should be given first to people to establish their own small businesses so that they could start quitting big enterprises themselves for their own businesses.

"However, the government had no time for that because the most important thing is the struggle against inflation," he said, "so they chose other solutions. For me, however, unemployment is unacceptable with all these shortages in the market and services in Poland."

"(I think) that we will not be facing the problem of unemployment. The point is to send people where they are really needed," Walesa said.

Walesa appealed to workers to join trade union activities and political life. "Poland is yours; you are responsible for everything," he argued. "If you do not use the existing possibilities and do not take things in your own hands, nothing will change. Do not let yourselves be cheated; mind everything yourselves. We guarantee that nobody, no secret police agent follows you any more."

Walesa announced he was going to withdraw from (union) activity but added that should any threat emerge to the union, he would not sell his or the union's skin cheap.

"My goal now is Solidarity's congress. It is important that it be well-prepared for we should come back to trade union work as soon as possible. I expect whipping at the congress for not dealing with the union and engaging in politics instead. Now you must take some burden away from Solidarity: Leave trade union matters only and settle political questions within parties. We must separate trade union issues from the questions of ruling," Walesa said.

"A new monopoly is being brought to life now. And that is why I do not strive for unity. We did not fight to create a new monopoly. But we are the children of this system and we can easily get snared. Hence the arogance of some of the activists," Walesa opined.

Calling Previous Team to Account

Replying to demands to call the previous team to account, Walesa argued that one could not quarrel with everybody at the same time. "We decided to win at the lowest possible price. We must reject those who are trouble-makers but we must give a Christian treatment to those who can and want to resocialize. We do not intend to fight lawlessness with lawlessness. Even squaring of accounts should be done in a civilized manner," he said.

"Join the elections to local self-governments, be active and you will be able to change and call everybody to account if as soon as you have true evidence," Walesa added. [sentence as received]

Changing for the Better

"Everybody can find a pretext to go on strike today because everybody has too little. But in two months' already we are supposed to see that it is changing for the better. Let us be patient. Let us not raise claims. It is hard but the fight against inflation is just like that. The world is looking at us, waiting and testing whether we are worth helping," Walesa continued.

"In four months, the new government had not enough time to knock at every door. It lacks time but it is your government and it will not cheat you. You can replace everybody but only with someone wiser who has better programme," he said.

"Everything depends on you. The system crippled us. Everyone can speak but is unable to act. Set up parties, create programmes, settle your things and fight for power because neither Walesa nor Mazowiecki can do this for you, you must do it yourselves," Walesa said.

In the traditional voting at the end of the conference, all the present backed his arguments.

Rakowski Views Future of Left

PM0202111690 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 13 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, by POLITYKA correspondents Jan Bijak and Marian Turski—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Rakowski] We have known one another for decades, we worked side by side on the same paper, on the same team, so it would sound odd if you were to address me now in any other way than you have addressed me for years, that is, by my first name. Now that the formalities have been settled, let us have your questions.

[POLITYKA] The number one topic of the day in so-called Warsaw circles is the Urban-Orzechowski dispute in the pages of TRYBUNA LUDU. We are clearly not accustomed to having the names of the potential pretenders to party leadership, discussed in public before a party congress. Should we then accept it as a new custom, in a new era, which brings with it new political manners?

[Rakowski] I have no doubt that in the immediate future, we will see many new phenomena in party life, the emergence of many new customs, which are a part of political life in all parties, which are not by their nature dictatorial, and which share the common struggle for leadership or for membership on leadership teams. This is a feature of normal political life.

[POLITYKA] Until now it was regarded as an embarrassing aspect.

[Rakowski] Until now.... But after all, we want to, and will, form a new party that will closely resemble what we call a parliamentary party. Within it we will have to speak openly about who has assumed which post, how many supporters he can boast, and who they are. I regard that as a result of distancing ourselves from the Stalinist party model—since we might as well call a spade a spade....

[POLITYKA] A model in which those behind the scenes, who were in the know, could tell you that X was fighting against Y, and vice versa.

[Rakowski] Indeed.... This is why it was still regarded as unusual when Comrade Orzechowski gave an interview in which he effectively declared his sympathies for specific sides or persons, and when Urban replied to that interview. I read both documents with much interest—which is understandable, as they concerned me, too. However, the arguments used by those comrades who engaged in personal skirmishes are a different thing altogether. Here the echoes of the Stalinist past are still much in evidence. Nevertheless, I would like to let all POLITYKA readers know—those who who were once my readers and are now yours—that, as the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] leader, or first secretary (since leadership is still a rather embarrassing term), I take no part in such political scrimmages. I am engaged in something altogether different, that is already building the foundations for a new party. I am watching all sides carefully but I refuse to be one of them until 27 January, the congress date, in the sense of disclosing my opinions on what I agree or disagree with.

[POLITYKA] All the same, there are patently different platforms within the party. Does that mean you are preserving your neutrality also, with regard to these platforms?

[Rakowski] In a sense I do, but... you know me quite well; we have all spent large parts of our lives fighting for virtually the same things as we are now implementing within the party. Let us not allow anyone now to take away from us what we have often fought for unsuccessfully in the past. I have my own platform, my own vision of the party, my own vision of Poland. Incidentally, I have not needed to make too many adjustments to it

since the sixties and seventies; since the time when, as you remember, we worked together while planning the future together. That is another reason why I want to avoid all the scramble in the market for ideas that we are witnessing out there today.

[POLITYKA] But can it be avoided? Someone who has been identified as a likely candidate will have to declare himself at the coming congress so that he can be distinguished from others....

[Rakowski] Recently I have given at least 20 interviews to Western and domestic press. In these, I took pains to unequivocally state my views on what the new party should become, on what ideological premises I based my opinion, and what political program I envisaged for it. All the same, I prefer not to be associated with the noise and clamor around the question of who should lead the party. For me the most important question has been to carry the party through to the congress. When I am judged by history for the period when I was PZPR first secretary, from 31 August of last year to 27 January of this year, I believe that history will recognize it as an achievement that the party did not split up, thanks to my efforts and those of my friends in politics. We managed to ensure that the party elections were fully democratic. It was a significant fact that all the candidates representing the so-called 8 July Movement were elected; that those who have long been known as reformers—for instance, Kubiak, Lipiec, or Urbanczyk in Krakow—were also elected. Incidentally, let me note here that GAZETA WYBORCZA failed to write about these significant facts, but instead took pleasure in recording the names of people whom it considered to be representatives of the hard conservative orientation. I do not like this deliberate partiality.

[POLITYKA] All the same, there are names at which it is hard not to wince....

[Rakowski] It is quite amazing to see reformers and liberals refuse others the right to articulate their own, different views. Speaking for myself, and without mentioning names, I regard certain delegates as representatives of the conservative or unprogressive orientation, but since they have been elected, I must respect the will of the electorate. Moreover, I believe that the practice of applying old criteria (revisionist or dogmatist, for instance) is, in effect, a legacy of Stalinism. True, there are individuals who have very little in common with the ideology of the party of the left. But I have seen many people who have hitherto belonged to the conservative orientation and who, in the course of acutely painful, profound upheavals, have changed their orientation. Why should I deny these people the right to change their views? I can also see people stubbornly repeating: "Rakowski is a traitor." These are, by their own admonition, the true Marxists, or the true Marxists-Leninists. They have maintained the same, inflexible positions for years. Of course I do not want to walk hand-in-hand with those people, but as a liberal, I acknowledge their right to proclaim their views, and I will not brand them as renegades. To tell the truth, I am not afraid of a return to conservative thinking in the new party. If there is something I do fear, it is the danger of the old conflicts' being carried over, lock, stock, and barrel, to the new party. There is a very fine line between an acceptance of different views presented in the form of platforms and the necessary organizational and political unity.

[POLITYKA] Observations so far indicate that there are relatively few workers among congress delegates.

[Rakowski] Nevertheless, this does not mean that the new party will ignore workers as a broad basis of its work.

[POLITYKA] Is there any parallel significance in the fact that in Solidarity also, the workers were poorly represented during its elections?

[Rakowski] There probably is. It is also the consequence of departuring from the former practice of creating artificial representation figures. Let me remind you of those notorious key formats that used to be applied in all elections to analyze the structure of the chosen bodies: so many women; so many female textile workers; so many workers; so many locomotive engineers.... I would also prefer to see more workers, but if workers themselves vote for a representative of the intelligentsia, then that is their choice. Besides, if we scratch the surface of the biographies of elected members, then we may have to think hard to decide, for instance, whether or not some foremen can be defined as workers, or whether many of those who gained their positions through promotion or education have retained their worker (or peasant) awareness.

[POLITYKA] You recently met with many top figures of the world socialist movement, and with leaders of the Socialist International—a whole list of distinguished names. Were they interested in what was happening in the Polish party on the eve of its congress? How do they see our party prior to the congress?

[Rakowski] In the first place, I would like to stress, that the fact that Craxi invited me to Rome and Gonzalez to Spain indicated more than mere politeness on their part, because I meet with many politicians, and not all of them issue such invitations. There is still the outstanding invitation that I received from Peres, the leader of the Israeli Labor Party, but unfortunately there will be no time for me to take it up. How do they see us? I particularly cherish the appraisal expressed by Gonzalez, whom I list among the most interesting politicians in Western Europe. He said to me: "I support your work and your policy; I support the PZPR as it is." These are his words: "as it is." What is the reason for his opinion? Gonzalez believes—and he has carefully observed the development of events in Poland and in central Europe—that the PZPR is indeed progressing toward very significant qualitative changes. During my talk with him he made two very important observations. First, that he was appalled by the progress of galloping conservatism in central Europe and, second, that he could not

understand the overwhelming pressure for constant score-settling with the past. We should keep in mind the fact that Gonzalez came to office in circumstances similar to ours; after the end of the Franco dictatorship, which lasted for a long time and was extremely brutal and ruthless. Over there they did not insist on a repeated squaring of accounts with the past, as some would like to see in our country.

In any case, the attitude of our hosts and interlocutors was very friendly and open, and we talked with representatives of party leaderships in both Spain and Italy. I say "we" because I was not there alone. I went to Rome with Slawomir Wiatr, and to Madrid with Aleksander Kwasniewski. We left both those capitals with a sense of satisfaction and full of optimism derived from the fact that our partners in those talks believed in us.

[POLITYKA] But Craxi is often very sharp in his attitude to Italy's own Communists when he addresses them in the domestic forum....

[Rakowski] This is because the Communists are his rivals, much more serious rivals than the Social Democrats. Because they gain more votes and command a larger group of voters. In any case, I did ask Craxi: "Why do you not combine forces if you pursue the same objectives?" He sent me, for an answer, to his opponents, and they, in turn, sent me back to him. Incidentally, let me add here that I also talked with the leader of Italian Social Democratic Party. I asked him in turn: "What is the difference between your party and the Socialists?" I explained that in Poland there were some who wanted to create a social democratic party and others who preferred a socialist party. To this, the leader of Italian Social Democrats replied: "There is only one, historically based difference. Back in 1947, we split from Nenni's party, and this is, basically, the one and only difference between ourselves and the Socialists, because our programs do not differ in any important sense."

[POLITYKA] What do representatives of the Socialist International expect from our party? How do they see its development if there is to be a real, permanent, perhaps even institutional, rapprochement ?

[Rakowski] In the first place, they are really interested in seeing socialist parties created here in Poland. They want to see parties that would close the era of the communist movement. Second, their interest is a consequence of their awareness that the absence of a socialist party—a strong and influential socialist party—in central Europe will affect their own position adversely.

[POLITYKA] And the balance of power in Europe?

[Rakowski] Yes. Each of my interlocutors pointed to the dangers associated with an advent of right wing rule. Consequently, they approved of my view that, there is a necessity—a vital necessity—for an active presence of the Socialist International here in Central Europe.

[POLITYKA] Do you believe that the party that will succeed the PZPR will be easily accepted by the Socialist International?

[Rakowski] I do not. I believe that it will take some time. Comrades in the Spanish or Italian Socialist Parties—incidentally, it was the Spaniards themselves who used the word "comrade" in our talks—as well as others, will watch the direction the new party takes. They will want to see whether it will really take over and adopt socialist principles as its basic tenets or whether it will continue to look wistfully toward the past, toward the formation which developed during the period of real socialism. It will be a time of observation, but at the same time I expect a gradual development of closer contacts.

[POLITYKA] You make no mention at all of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], and we know that you have traditionally had many friends there whose loyalty has been tried and tested over many years. Furthermore, there is the big Socialist Party in France.

[Rakowski] I have on my desk a letter which I received 3 days ago from Willy Brandt, who holds the post of chairman of the Socialist International. He sends us best wishes and says, among other things, that he was impressed with the ideas contained in my letter, and that he had passed it on to the leadership of the Socialist International. Brandt is full of goodwill; it would be surprising if it were otherwise, since we have known each other for decades. As regards French Socialists, I have been in touch with Mitterrand three times over the past few months. On the other hand, Mauroy's attitude to us differs somewhat from the other two leaders.

[POLITYKA] Is he more suspicious, or distrustful?

[Rakowski] The other two, and their associates, do not look at Solidarity uncritically today. They recognize the different currents present within it.

[POLITYKA] Do Western socialist leaders permit the idea of several different groups representing Polish socialists within the Socialist International?

[Rakowski] Presumably they do, although I have heard them say: "The real strength is in what you are doing." Incidentally, another question mentioned at the time was that the International would have to examine its relations with different factions of the Polish socialist movement, including emigre groups.

[POLITYKA] Which advice, given by the leaders of the socialist parties and based on their own experience, should the the PZPR's successor make use of or follow?

[Rakowski] I would say that it should follow the advice to remain faithful to our socialist ideals, the ideals of social justice. It should take a judicious look at questions of ownership and the tendencies to reprivatize our assets. I was told in Madrid: "You should sell what can be sold, but the state must retain its own state sector and must keep a hand in controlling the economy."

If I were to analyze the ideological sources of the new party, I should say that I perceive a return to the sources of European socialism and to the traditions of Polish socialism. A fusion of these two traditions could create a truly new party—but this would be a long-term process, certainly not a question of one or two months. I realize that this is not an easy task, because we are still carrying the burden of the past on our backs, but the opportunity is there. That is, of course, provided that someone does not insist on yet another round of score-settling; this time not even with the Stalinist era but with the period, which we began by initiating the roundtable debate.

[POLITYKA] Do you mean the kind of score-settling which would involve a search for scapegoats to blame for removal of the word "people's" form the name "People's Poland?"

[Rakowski] Actually, the real bone of contention is the fact that the Polish party, or its leadership, has handed over power to the Solidarity camp or, as some would have it, the Catholic camp. This is because there is still a strong element of lingering, concealed hankering—often not fully recognized or admitted by the people concerned—after the period when the party held a monopoly on power. This is quite understandable. Many people—even those who have no arguments to counter the truth that the development of events was unavoidable—cannot stop themselves from asking the question: "Could we not have done it differently? Who is to blame for what happened?" These questions keep cropping up here and there all the time. I have not yet been mentioned as the author of the eight questions posed during the 10th Plenum—the questions which I asked in order to make the party aktiv understand that a failure to recognize Solidarity was tantamount to burying our heads in the sand—but it must have been simply a matter of courtesy. Other names certainly have been mentioned already.

[POLITYKA] What are the present relations between the party leadership and the party's parliamentary floor group?

[Rakowski] This has already become a much-discussed question, although the parliamentary party club has been in existence only a few months. Among other things, this was the consequence of the nature of the elections in which the parliamentary floor group was formed. (Incidentally, even here there was a lack of unanimity. As we know, some deputies jumped in to replace the candidates from the rejected national list, while others—after collecting 3,000 supporting signatures each, which they managed all by themselves, without any assistance from the apparatus—put their names down on the list of candidate Sejm deputies). Consequently, a certain amount of potentially explosive tension was created. But I would not overestimate the importance of this tension or the threat that it poses. Because our political life is fully open to scrutiny, each instance of such tension—which would not be a normal phenomenon in the past period—invites comments. Some people react to these nervously and become highly agitated by them. A party parliamentary floor group is a necessary component of the new parliamentary democracy which we are beginning to introduce now. But it is a new element and it requires a period of adjustment between the Central Committee (or, if the congress names it so, the future High Council) and the parliamentary floor group. I represent the view that a political party can have only one command center. This was what I was taught by German social democrats, and others beside them. Although Herbert Wehner, who for some 20 years held the post of chairman of the SPD deputies' group, followed an independent policy line, he still coordinated it with the party boss. This is because you cannot have two command centers in any political party. I was "guilty" of pointing this out at one of the first sessions of the party's parliamentary floor group and I suspect that this "gaffe" of mine was interpreted by some of the deputies as an attack on their independence. Let us not lose our cool! I tend to ascribe a great many phenomena that we can observe today—and these are not restricted to relations between the deputies' floor group and the party leadership, either—to our present extraordinary situation. This is a period of crises and turning points, a time when a variety of old notions which have accompanied us almost from the day we were born should be relegated to the rubbish heap, and it is not easy to find a conflict-free area anywhere today.

[POLITYKA]: Nevertheless, if a center were to emerge which would declare its orientation as belonging with the Left and which could gather a circle of its supporters around it, it would surely be to the advantage of the Left as a whole, would it not?

[Rakowski] Of course it would. In any case, I believe that some of the conflicts raging within the left wing camp are devoid of any sense if you look at them from a historical perspective! We should be energized and stimulated into action by all factors which can make the entire Left—in the broad sense of the word—as strong as possible. But is it really possible to steer clear of strong passions and emotions in politics?

[POLITYKA] Precisely. And this has been well illustrated by the example of the political platforms during the period leading up to the congress. On the one hand they contributed greatly to our fund of ideas and concepts. Supporters of newly-formed platforms are as a rule much more active than average party members. This is a good thing. But how far do these positive aspects balance out the peculiar climate of mutual conflict and combat?

[Rakowski] I try to see the positive rather than negative aspects. Some 10 days after I was appointed first secretary, I invited representatives of every conceivable platform to this building and I told them about my positive appraisal of what they represented. The intellectual element in our Polish party has been virtually extinguished. Just think of 1986, 1970, then 1980: There were many reasons for this, but I will not analyze these just now. However, no left wing party in Poland can exist

without a strong intellectual base. Differences between individual platforms are not, on the whole, formidably wide. Almost everyone cherishes a similar vision of a democratic party.... But the most important thing now is the need for intellectual revival within the party. It would be unfortunate if, in the course of such a revival, representatives of one particular platform were to attempt to impose their views on others. Of course, people are naturally inclined to want to impose their particular vision of family, society, or class on others. I do not object when representatives of certain platforms try to persuade me that they and they alone are right. But there comes a point when I have to ask, as party leader, whether or not their viewpoint will do good service to the party. This also involves the question of tolerance, which is not one of our outstanding virtues.

I have already been asked once in this interview whether I am neutral. Well, during a certain period I consciously elected to adopt a neutral position to avoid accusations that I supported some particular orientation or some particular platform. You can certainly conclude that everyone is aiming for the same objective: to cut themselves off from the legacy of Stalinism. Everyone assesses critically the period of real socialism and everyone wants a democratic party that would adopt new rules of the game. Let me reiterate: We should not overemphasize the differences. I will give you a classic example: the question of the new party's organizational structure. Every single draft statute that I have seen leads us to the same ultimate destination... And where is this? Back in the Polish Socialist Party [PPS]. The PPS organizational structure was an inspiration to all platforms in their search for optimum organizational solutions. Why? Because, provided you do not want to get involved in elaborate, contorted conceptions, you are bound to end up with the PPS solution. The PPS blueprint had been tried, tested, and found the most realistic and rational of all. Why? Simply because all the communist parties which evolved from the Third International in fact represented a natural development of organizations of a military nature, since this was the structure of the Bolshevik party in its underground stage. If you want to move away from this kind of structure, you are bound to end up with a democratic structure. And who has already been through this experience? Polish socialists.

[POLITYKA] So the main differences become apparent when it comes to the future vision of Poland?

[Rakowski] No, not at all. To be frank, I believe that the shared weakness of all platforms is the apparent inclination to assess the past rather than to suggest plans for the future. In my address to congress delegates, which was published by TRYBUNA LUDU, I propose the thesis that if we want to be a pragmatic party, we should attempt to take a closer look at some key problems of the immediate future, such as our position with regard to state and private ownership; questions of reprivatization and its scope; relations between the new party and the trade unions; and the new party's program for reaching creative intelligentsia circles. These are concrete problems which must be tackled by both the 11th PZPR congress and by the founding congress of the new party, instead of their wasting their time on composing the death notice of the Polish United Workers Party. We are supposed to write a program geared to the future. I am awaiting concrete suggestions—but I do really mean concrete! Many comrades stress that the new party must be a social democratic party—and such it will indeed be, as far as its program is concerned—but they tend to overlook the fact that social democrats are given to tackling concrete problems during their congresses. They have little time for discussing the general vision; instead, they decide that, say, in specific economic matters they will adopt such and such a stand, and as regards taxation, their position is such and such. Because after all, these are matters which directly affect human beings. You can feed human beings on the loftiest ideas, but no one yet has gone to bed with a full stomach on such a diet. On the other hand, we must answer the question about the limit of the sacrifices that people should make for the sake of leading Poland out of the crisis. This is a specific question concerning the material situation of individual occupational groups, or even entire social groups. And I will defend this viewpoint at the congress even at the risk of prompting certain people's deepest disapproval. If we say that the nature of the party must be pragmatic and political rather than ideological, I will always support this view wholeheartedly. If we want to model ourselves on Western socialists and social democrats, I am all for it—as long as it is not a repetition of our old PZPR resolutions, which were full of smooth-sounding platitudes and short on concrete action programs.

[POLITYKA] Is the lack of such a precise vision in a number of currents within the present party not a consequence of a deep-seated fear that the entire Polish society—just as, perhaps, the whole of Central Europe—is now facing a period of a swing to the Right? Is it not true that supporters of left wing and socialist currents could now encounter an impenetrable wall of indifference and perhaps even hostility?

[Rakowski] It is a very valid observation. We cannot exclude the possibility that the next decade will be marked by the supremacy of right-wing governments throughout Central Europe, as a reaction to all the failures—both real and exaggerated—which occurred in the past decades. I have encounteded many statements in which the word "socialism" was carefully avoided. Occasionally someone will quietly remark: "If you listen to Mitterrand, for example, his every second word is socialism, whereas we are deeply ashamed of it...." We have this fear—often subconscious—that if we admit that our goal is a socialist Poland, we will be silenced with the argument that all our predecessors have said the same thing in the past. Consequently, alternative formulations are sought: Poland's interest, or Poland's objectives. But let us not forget about the reasons for this disillusionment, either. Real socialism has proved to be

a failure, and we must admit this brutal truth to ourselves. Though this system was responsible for a tremendous acceleration of development worldwide, unfortunately it could not match the pace itself and was left behind.

[POLITYKA] The question now begs to be asked: When do you expect young people to start joining the Socialist Party again? A moment ago we were talking about a time scale of 10 years. Is this not excessively optimistic?

[Rakowski] It is difficult today to prognosticate about the time when the next swing to the Left will take place, in Poland or in Central Europe. It will depend, among other things, on the policy pursued by the Right as such or by the right-wing tendencies. If they pursue a policy of brutality, that period can be shortened.

The young... I still observe among young people a certain longing for something which could be defined generally as a system devoted to social progress and social justice. When will the new party that we are about to create find its way into their hearts and minds? In my opinion, that can only happen when we have stopped beating our breasts over the past period, because the past period already belongs to history. I certainly do not mean that we should suppress our knowledge of the past, but we must not present ourselves to the world only as a party of flagellants. We must prepare a program containing ideas really attractive to young people. And then they will come to join the party.

[POLITYKA] You belong to the group of people who were instrumental in bringing about the roundtable debate as an important stage in the whole reform drive. Today the other, currently victorious, side of the roundtable debate claims that, since the situation has changed beyond all recognition, the decisions adopted at the time are in fact already becoming invalid. Does the reform group within the party not feel rather cheated? [Rakowski] It would be slightly inaccurate to say that we feel "cheated." There are moments when we feel disappointed. I am of course opposed to the thesis that the social contract—which was, admittedly, not entirely put down in writing, but was nonetheless agreed in the course of the roundtable talks—is now completely invalid. However, I can understand the reasons for this retaliation, even though it is quite senseless. We have done a lot of mischief in our time. But the frequent ruthless, and more often than not primitive, attacks on socialism broadcast on television these days (they talk of communism, but there has never been communism in Poland) do not fit in with my vision of a system in which Lady Democracy is supposed to reign supreme. Let me return to the question of the reasons why so many people simply dislike us. A question to historians: When the opportunity was there, could Gomulka have been more radical in introducing his reform in 1956? In my opinion he could have been more radical. The opportunity was certainly there, but Gomulka himself was highly inconsistent. This is why I understand the reasons for the hostility toward the current, which I have led for 5 months. But why do others refuse to recognize the successes of the past 45 years despite all we have achieved during that time? It is, after all, undeniable. The main thing is the nation's sense of complete security. For the first time in centuries we have an unchallenged eastern border—although nowadays it seems slightly less quiet, because the first fires of nationalism have been ignited... And the advancement of millions of people, an authentic advancement... City populations grew by 17 million people... These valid arguments are being waved aside. This is doubtless a reaction to the arrogance displayed in the past by those who held power, and to many other sins.

[POLITYKA] We have already asked you about relations between the party and the party deputies' parliamentary floor group. Let us now ask you about the party and the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ].

[Rakowski] I believe that the new party must treat the OPZZ as its main natural base, and I think that we are in agreement with Miodowicz on this issue—which I see as his achievement, and perhaps partly mine, too. [passage omitted on Walesa-Rakowski meeting]

Roundtable Talks Resume; NSF To Share Power

AU0102152490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The dialogue between the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC] and the other political groups in the country resumed at NSFC Headquarters this morning. The dialogue is devoted to consolidating the democratic process and to stabilizing the political and social atmosphere.

The dialogue is attended by representatives of 28 registered political groups and of the NSFC.

NSFC President Ion Iliescu informed participants that on Saturday the Front leadership will discuss its participation as a political body in the coming elections.

The current NSFC is to be named the National Provisional Council as a body of state and legislative power, which will operate until the elections and in which all political groups that have been set up or are being set up will be invited to participate.

Mr Iliescu also proposed that the current meeting of the political parties become a forum with regular meetings to which the National Provisional Council and the government should report on the activity and within which they should decide on the main normative acts.

This forum is to represent a second chamber of the parliament.

Discussions in connection with a draft election law will continue between the commission that drafted it and the parties.

Today's proceedings were also attended by Prime Minister Mr Petre Roman, who had envisaged the possibility of the participation of the parties in the work of the government, the manner in which this would take place being established by joint agreement.

Proposals were also made to allocate subsidies in two stages for the parties' material organization and electoral propaganda.

The representatives of the participating political groups made their opinions known in connection with the name and composition of the future National Provisional Council and in connection with the possible forms of participation in the government.

Iliescu Statement

AU0102193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1844 GMT 1 Feb 90

["Mr Ion Iliescu's Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/2/1990—After the dialogue between the leaders of the National Salvation Front Council and of the political parties created after the revolution, Mr Ion Iliescu adressed the Romanian and foreign journalists present at the meeting saying:

You are witnessing an historic moment this year: the end of a meeting of the representatives of the 30 parties existing in Romania at present, who have discussed for six hours the ways of ensuring a platform of cooperation among them at this particular stage of the political life in our country. We are in a period of transition until the free general elections to be held in this country and following the debates we have reached a consensus of all the representatives of the 30 parties. The debates have been heated I may say, but not violent. It has been a constructive and civilized dialogue. It has been an example of the dialogue possible even between political groups with very different points of view. We have reached the conclusions comprised in the communique that has been released.

After having referred to the provisions of the communique Mr. Iliescu added:

At the end of our debates and after the signing of the communique all the representatives of the parties also made an appeal to the country for the insurance, in the period to come, of a positive climate favouring dialogue, the continuation of our talks and the avoidance of violent confrontations, of tensions that harmed and harm the political life in our country.

I think that with this as a basis we can state with no restraint that ours has been a positive work, that the dialogue has been fertile, efficient, all of us leaving with the feeling of a fulfilled mission.

After this statement Mr Iliescu answered questions of foreign journalists.

Further on Dialogue

AU0202094090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1819 GMT 1 Feb 90

["Political Dialogue"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/2/1990—Thursday, 1 February, the dialogue was resumed in Bucharest within a round table conference between the leaders of the National Salvation Front Council and those of the political parties created after the revolution.

Leaders of the NSF Council and of several parties informed about the conclusions reached so far during the talks.

The leaders of the National Salvation Front Council made known their intention of separating the Council from the Front which is to become a political organism and is to nominate its candidates for the free elections of 20 May. In that context the Council is to be open to the participation of all parties, the practical modalities of achieving this having to be agreed upon during the talks that continue. Also in view is the formation of a "miniparliament" upon the structure of today's meeting namely with three representatives of every party which is to discuss the important problems to be debated by the Council. This second chamber, as it was called by the

NSF representatives, will have the right of veto as to the decisions of the Council with a simple majority of votes.

The idea was also discussed of the participation in the government of representatives of other parties, with stress in the context on the need to promote professionals to this body.

The first stands taken by the representatives of most of the political parties participating in this dialogue were appreciative of the intentions of the NSF Council which are to be materialized in decisions that will be subsequently made during the debates. The leaders of the political parties assessed the talks under way as open, civilized and constructive.

National Provisional Council Planned

AU0102153190 Paris AFP in English
1250 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Bernard Estrade report]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Feb 1 (AFP)—Romania's ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) and 28 opposition parties agreed to share power in a new "national provisional council" shortly after opening talks here Thursday.

But they remained deadlocked over its composition, sources close to the talks said.

The NSF proposed the power-sharing scheme earlier this week in a bid to defuse growing criticism over its leadership. The new team would hold executive and legislative power and prepare for elections next May.

But negotiations "stumbled over representation" of the opposition parties, said Radu Campeanu, head of the National Liberals, during a break in talks. The National Liberals are one of the three largest opposition parties, along with the National Peasants' Party and the Social Democrats, participating in the talks.

Opposition sources said the NSF wants the new council to include the NSF's current official 145 members plus 30 representatives from the other parties.

But Mr Campeanu said this was "not acceptable" for the other parties who said the NSF would "drown" opposition representatives, giving them "no political significance" on the council.

Earlier, a leader of the National Peasants' Party said the opposition wanted the new council to have 100 seats, two-thirds of which would be reserved for the opposition.

Though no schedule was announced for the roundtable talks, they were unlikely to conclude Thursday.

Each of the 30-odd parties represented included three members, sources said.

The NSF was represented by President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Petre Roman and Vice-President Casimir Ionescu.

In a statement Wednesday, Mr Roman made it clear his government would not resign but did not rule out enlarging it.

The NSF, which seized control during the overthrow of president Nicolae Ceausescu on December 22, has been accused of trying to monopolize power and popular criticism of the Front climaxed Sunday with the biggest protest march seen in the country since the events leading up to the downfall of the Ceausescu regime.

Corneliu Coposu for the National Peasants' Party, Mr. Campeanu for the National Liberals and Sergiu Cunescu of the Social Democrats, arrived at the NSF's headquarters in the Foreign Ministry building Thursday saying they were optimistic about the outcome of the talks.

Silviu Brucan, a leading member of the NSF, had acted Tuesday to ease the political crisis when he said the Front would share executive and legislative power with the opposition in a "national provisional council"—a suggestion broadly accepted by the major opposition parties.

The new council would prepare the general elections May 20, then hand over power to the new leaders who emerge from that ballot. At the same time, Mr Brucan said the NSF would constitute itself as a political party to contest the election. [passage omitted]

Iliescu on Council

LD0102204190 Paris Domestic Service
in French 1800 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] In Romania, a provisional National Unity Council is to replace the National Salvation Front Committee in governing the state. The agreement transforms the National Salvation Front into a political group similar to the legal political parties that already exist. Here is the reaction of Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front committee, when questioned by Pierre Weil:

[Begin recording] [Iliescu] There is a feeling of satisfaction which is not restricted to myself, but there is a general satisfaction felt by all participants, that after 6 hours of dialogue we have succeeded in obtaining positive results and conclusions.

[Weil] What about the risk of clashes between Romanians? Have you succeeded in preventing that today?

[Iliescu] I think so. That is the main significance to the meeting. We have decided to create a provisional National Unity Council, which is going to take on the political management of the country until the elections.

[Weil] And so now you will no longer be suspected of possibly attempting to monopolize power yourselves?

[Iliescu] Well, it is no longer the Front which is running the country, but the united council of all these parties.

[Weil] And the accusation which was circulating, to the effect that you wanted to establish a sort of Gorbachev-style reformist communism, no longer holds water?

[Iliescu] I don't think that was true even before now, but it was more geopolitical. [sentence as heard]

[Weil] Mr President, would you say that the demonstrations are over?

[Iliescu] Perhaps. [end recording]

Communique on Council

AU0102230090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Communique issued at the end of a roundtable talk between the National Salvation Front Council and other parties in Bucharest on 1 February]

[Text] Communique: The representatives of political parties, which have met today for discussions with representatives of the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC], agreed to set up a provisional National Unity Council. This council will result from a restructuring of the current NSFC. There will be representation from the active participants in the revolution, some personalities from the scientific and cultural fields, some from the ranks of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, young people, students, national minorities, and from counties. There will be equal representation, that is, three members from each party that has been set up so far, or those which are represented at the meeting—in other words, in a proportion of 50 percent of the total number of members.

The representatives of the national minority organizations, who were absent from this meeting, will be included in the provisional National Unity Council with the observance of the principle of parity with the representatives of the parties.

The NSFC has been transformed into a political organization with its own structure and platform and will take part in elections on equal terms with the other political forces.

On this occasion, the representatives of the participant parties and political forces urge people to avoid all actions that might lead to tension or violent confrontation.

We wish to ensure a favorable climate for the development of the economic, social, political, and cultural activity in our country and the continuation of the constructive dialogue between all political forces.

The communique was signed by the representatives of all political parties who were present at the meeting, and it was read in plenum, at the end of the meeting in French for all the foreign and Romanian press correspondents.

Party Representatives Comment

AU0202120990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0956 GMT 2 Feb 90

["The Parties on the 1 February Roundtable Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/2/1990—Geana Nicolae (National Peasants' Party): Today's meeting in the presence of Mr.Iliescu was fruitful. It is true it was a rather stormy dialogue, but we reached a consensus and we are content.

Marinescu Constantin (representative of the Romanian Liberty and Democracy Party): We took part in useful, fruitful discussions which will contribute to a climate of peace and safety for our country, to measures that have paved the way for democracy in Romania.

Toma George Maiorescu (Ecological Movement of Romania): I am glad I took part in today's debate. It was a debate which will go down in our history as a highly important moment, a moment which will ensure the unity of the political parties so that the national consensus we have dreamed of so much may come true, be a fact of our everyday life.

Petre Popescu (president of the People's Party of Romania): It was an extraordinary debate. Very important. Special things have been achieved that the country and the people need. Today is an historic day, the first historic day after the revolution.

Pantea Gheorghe (Romanian Peasants' Party): For democracy it is big step ahead. I think it is indeed an historic act and, although I am still young, I consider it has been for the first time since 1946 that a decision is taken in a very, very democratic manner, with all the participants' consensus.

Mircea Radulescu (Democratic Unity Party): The talks have been extremely useful, and the opinions were highly diverse. It is well that a consensus could be reached. We think what has been done now is a very good thing for everybody and for all the political forces concerned.

Ion Radu Silisteanu (vice-president of the National Democratic Party): We assess this moment as historic, and we are glad that the centre democratic parties' grouping, to which we also belong, has contributed to reaching such an historic decision, as we are the ones to advance the first proposal which was a basis for discussion on the legislative body's "map", so to say, that is to be adopted. Even if our initial proposal was not endorsed, it was the first along this line.

Cipere Lucian: (Democratic Unity Party): I think this meeting of ours, along the effort toward reaching a consensus, favourably contributes to the political atmosphere and the unfolding of economic activities in the country, and to ensuring proper stability.

Further on Party Representatives

AU0102223090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1851 GMT 1 Feb 90

["Statements by Leaders of Political Parties"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMRPES, 1/2/1990—In connection with the results of the dialogue conducted on February 1 between the NSF Council and the newly-created parties in Romania, their leaders made brief statements:

Radu Cimpeanu (the National Liberal Party): generally, we are content and we think that this cooperation in the political area will yield fine results for Romania and, more particularly, for the birth of Romanian democracy.

Participation in the government and government activities will be controlled by the Provisional National Council. We did not approach all the matters related to the government. For the time being, it remains a government of technicians and a suggestion was made that political participation will also exist in the form of so-called observers or ministers without portofolio.

The way we are to work remains to be seen. I hope we will all work in a constructive spirit.

Sergiu Cunescu (the Social Democratic Party) I should like to say that what we attained is more than I hoped for during the break. We have reached national consensus. A new council was created, which is a small parliament virtually, and spirits have calmed down. I think this is the begining of a truly democratic life in Romania, if we observe the pledges we have taken.

Gheorghe Susana (the Liberal and Democratic Social Justice Party): We attained what we did not expect and what was eagerly expected. From a position of confrontation started a few days ago, we have reaced a stage where we are all looking confidently ahead and I believe we will start a civilized, democratic election compaign, so that the representatives of the people may get where they should, that is in the state power.

Otto Weber (the Ecologist Party): The talks we conducted today with the political parties were altogether appropriate and we came to find understanding between the front and the other parties. And I believe from now on everything will go on smoothly, in the interest of the country.

Mr Corneliu Coposu's Statement

At the end of the dialogue between representatives of the National Salvation Front Council and of the Political Parties, Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party stated to journalists: we have had a first meeting, parliamentary I may say, during which followed the acceptance of viewpoints, we, the three historical parties, have claimed and discussed several times with the NSF leadership. The Front's Council has given up the monopoly of the political power. A species of parliament has been created which will meet to replace, before elections, the legislative power that is missing. We hope this will be the beginning of a life open to a rather modest democracy.

Mr Nicolae Iosipescu's Statement

The National Progressive Party is of the opinion that the decisions made during the meeting of today, 1 February 1990, of the representatives of the political parties have once more confirmed the democratic spirit in which one can work with the representatives of the National Salvation Front Council, stated to ROMPRES the party's president Nicolae Iosipescu, member of the Provisional Council of National Unity.

The meeting, he added, took place in a climate that favoured the making of important decisions for our country. The Provisional Council of National Union will also include representatives of the political parties, both historical and and those born with the revolution.

Representatives on Talks

AU0102203190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 1 Feb 90

["The Parties for Dialogue"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/2/1990—Professor Marius Carciumaru, chairman of the National Provisional Committee of the Romanian Socialist-Democratic Party:

The Romanian Socialist Democratic Party considers that in order to overcome the difficult moments inherent in any period of transition, a constructive dialogue is necessary, to express all positions and reach consensus. Our party backs the activity of the NSF, as we consider it is the only way to secure socio-economic stability for a democratic political life.

The Socialist-Democratic Party expects that the dialogue between the NSF and the other political forces ends in a national consensus on socio-economic problems facing Romania to make of the political framework a factor of stability and democratic expression of each political formation. We hope that the dialogue will bring a clarification of the NSF political status, and we support the proposal that the members of the Front National Council express their political options, further carry on their responsibilities and propose that all political formations should designate their representatives to take part in national decision-making.

Dr Tache Viorel Pirvulescu, D.Sc., vice-president of the Ecological Party:

The success of dialogue will depend on the NSF approach. As long as the NSF makes a clear and objective dissociation between the formation taking part in the elections and the provisional organ of supreme state power, speaking only for the latter and in the name of the Romanian people's general interests, we consider that the dialogue will be constructive. The parties should also

take part in these discussions with the sincere wish to contribute to the consolidation of Romania's democracy and economy. This is hardly a time for political ambitions and antagonisms between parties when the nation's interests alone are at stake.

We work for a climate of calm, work, physical and moral purity in Romania and that is why we are not and will never be for demonstrations of force and anarchy.

Margarit Ducu, member in the Provisional Political Council of the Cluj-based Democratic Party:

We are firmly for the continuation of the dialogue with the NSF and all parties to stabilize the country's political and social life. We point out that wessupprt all NSF actions which erve the establishment of a real pluralist democracy in Romania. But we disavow any abusive, totalitarian attitude which makes an attempt on real democracy. We are for open frank dialogue both with the NSF and all other political parties.

We also show that as we are part of a group of seven center democratic parties, our position is clear vis-a-vis both right and left parties. We stressthat we want to be a political force of equilibrium in the current political situation which is most complex and versatile.

Brucan Responds to Andersson's Criticism

LD0102174690 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Foreign Minister Sten Andersson's criticism of the ruling Romanian National Salvation Front and its chief ideologist, Silviu Brucan, is countered today by Brucan himself in Bucharest. It was on Tuesday [30 January] evening that Sten Andersson accused Brucan of fascist thinking. But the grounds for this accusation are based on a misunderstanding, Brucan told our reporter:

[Unidentified reporter] What is especially upsetting to Silviu Brucan, an important National Salvation Front ideologue, is Sten Andersson's accusation that Brucan has shown evidence of pure fascism. The basis of this accusation was an article in the British daily THE INDEPENDENT, which says Brucan wants to see the gifted people take over and that the stupid people will be happy voters in exchange for a bit of prosperity. Silviu Brucan has never said these words; they were the words of a journalist from THE INDEPENDENT, a comment on an interview the paper conducted with Brucan.

[Begin Brucan recording, in English] I am surprised the minister of foreign affairs of Sweden should react to a comment which is obviously vicious, not a statement made by myself. I could never, I could never, say that my dream is to build a society in which there will be two classes, clever people and stupid people. First of all, because I am not stupid. [end recording]

[Reporter] Brucan says he is extremely surprised Sten Andersson instructed the Swedish Ambassador to Bucharest to seek clarity from the Romanian foreign minister only after, as Brucan says, the serious accusation of fascism was leveled.

Concerning relations between Sweden and Romania, Brucan says Sten Andersson's visit to Bucharest 2 weeks ago was highly valued, and he hopes this crisis will blow over. He also hopes Sten Andersson will understand that Brucan never said the words against which the Swedish foreign minister reacted.

Tokes Denies Reports of Resignation From NSF

LD0202072390 Budapest MTI in English 2331 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, February 1 (MTI)—The reports which state that I have left the National Salvation Front are untrue and malicious—said Laszlo Tokes, is currently in Paris as a member of a Romanian cultural delegation.

I think the report of my leaving the Front is being spread mainly with the aim of harming the Front. After Doina Cornea quit the Front, my leaving would doubtless have had an effect of this kind; I have arguments, we do not always agree in everything, but I feel it will continue to be useful for me to take the honouring opportunity, and I thus try to represent the Hungarian minority and also my church with my own means. This is how I can promote the nearing of Hungarians and Romanians, Tokes said.

As reported, Laszlo Tokes is to arrive in Budapest on Friday [2 February] evening.

Minister Justifies Abolition of Death Penalty

AU0102124790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1215 GMT 1 Feb 90

["The Minister of Justice on the Abolition of the Death Penalty"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/2/1990—In an article published in the February 1 issue of daily ADEVARUL, Dr Teofil Pop, minister of justice, considers that the contradictory opinion on the abolition of the death penalty in Romania seems to him natural, both because of the importance and significance of this measure and especially because of the time when it was endorsed. Pointing out that many of the modern legislations do not provide for the death penalty among the penalties that can be applied for an infringement of law, no matter how abominable, the Romanian minister refers to the humanist traditions of the Romanian outlooks and laws, traditions that justify the NSF [National Salvation Front] decision of January 1990 (Decree-Law No. 6/1990), a major political act to have democratic Romania join in the civilized world.

Mr. Pop stresses that the overthrow of the dictatorship was in itself an act of justice for the Romanian people. The major act of justice started by the revolution was accomplished: the dictatorship was removed not only as

a system of governing but also in the person of those who had come to symbolize it. The loyalists of the dictatorship who acted, some by complicity, others arms in hand even, committed grave crimes against the Romanian people. Hundreds, thousands even of persons that could be sentenced to death. Would those sentences have been real and pure acts of justice? The minister wonders. A real mass execution of a political group would have followed, almost another genocide of a quite different nature, a legal genocide that would have stained the ethical insignia of the revolution that started, proceeded and must continue under the token of nonviolence.

The life sentence that has replaced the death penalty fully meets both the human and legal desideratum to recognize and respect the right to life and the social requirement to permanently bar from liberty those who committed grave crimes. This protects the society, Dr Teofil Pop concludes.

Paler, Brucan on Democracy

PM0102145890 Paris LIBERATION in French 29 Jan 90 pp 4,5

[Serge July dispatch: "Two Voices In Favor of a Democratic Transition"]

[Text] Bucharest—On Friday morning, the front page of ROMANIA LIBERA, the newspaper with the biggest circulation in the country, carried an editorial which made accusations against the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC]. Under the title "Irresponsibility or a Pretext," Octavian Paler, the newspaper's honorary editor and one of the greatest Romanian journalists, attacked the new leaders, and particularly Silviu Brucan, regarded as the Front's ideologue, and the eminence grise of the National Salvation Front, Council Chairman Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman. In the editorialist's view, "the Front is confiscating the Romanian revolution." An argument used by Silviu Brucan in an interview granted to LE FIGARO prompted a reaction from the journalist: "It will take Romania 20 years to become a democracy."

Octavian Paler's accusation on the eve of the roundtable between the NSFC and the opposition parties and above all Sunday's demonstration against the Front's decision to field candidates in the elections and more generally against what the Romanians call "communism without the party" provided a focus for a climate of suspicion, which had become contagious. On Saturday morning, the newspaper published Silviu Brucan's reply in which he justified his remark and his search for a "new democracy."

I met with Octavian Paler at noon on Friday at the Writers' Union and with Silviu Brucan that same afternoon at Front headquarters. Those two conversations provide a gauge of the debate which is taking hold of Romanian society 5 weeks after December's victorious uprising.

Octavian Paler, who is 64 years old, has the face, the enthusiasm, and the look of Alberto Moravia. In Romania he also has the same status. "I am speaking," he started by saying, "as an individual, because it is the individual who has been oppressed by the dictatorship. I am on the alert because the individual is still threatened. Any dictatorship begins with the refusal to accept objections. Before stifling dialogue—which it always does at a later stage—it is first irritated by objections. Intolerance under Ceausescu was a nightmare and, by a terrible paradox, instead of witnessing a resurrection of the individual, we are witnessing a kind of bipolarization of intolerance between the Front's factions on the one hand and the demagoguery of its opponents. The individual is likely to be crushed once again between the two."

"From the start, the National Salvation Front leaders spoke of a national consensus. It seems natural to unite the Romanians. However, this concept is like the cutting edge of the ax; it has two sides. It has a socially necessary aspect and it also raises the memory of Ceausescu, who made great use of the national consensus. This slogan is invoked by the National Salvation Front to such an extent that it becomes suspect. It may conceal dangers for the individual. These dangers must be eliminated, or we will make the same mistakes again."

Octavian Paler, like all Romanians, and like Silviu Brucan, enjoys conversation. References to Ceausescu's insanity shock him: "The most serious mistake that can be made with regard to Romania in explaining the past is to adhere to a pathological explanation. Ceausescu was the result of the weaknesses and illusions of the Romanians and Europeans. That is why I deplored the fact that Ceausescu's trial did not take place in a democratic way. The last thing of which he robbed us was his own trial. I understood the military reasons for haste, but how can we fail to regret the fact that that trial was not our own trial? I was worried because my compatriots are very ready to become prosecutors, but nobody is willing to accuse themselves.

"I have reasons to believe in the NSFC, and other very good reasons which make me suspicious. My view at present is shifting toward distrust, but not complete distrust. The NSFC has limited legitimacy, although it is trying to give itself an identity which it does not have. It is not the Hungarian Democratic Forum nor Solidarity. All those movements were the cause and agents of change, not the reverse. The Front was formed after Ceausescu's departure. The Front was hastily formed by people who did not know each other, or scarcely knew each other. It is not a movement which was formed to support an idea, as in Poland. That is why we see in it privileged members of the former regime, some of whom were persecuted and others who were not, in addition to authentic dissidents. There is a lack of purity in the Council's composition, which is the reason for all the anxieties. It is difficult to understand why certain prominent members of Ceausescu's immediate entourage are in the Council. There is reason to believe that they

entered it, taking advantage of the early confusion, and that they stayed there, very rapidly forming a clientele for themselves.

"Anybody in power after the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship would have done exactly the same thing, in other words the opposite of Ceausescu. But the NSFC transformed that into electoral capital. It is in the position of the executor of a will who decides to take the legacy for himself. The Front leadership's argument—an argument which they use discreetly—is: We do not want to give power to the National Peasant Party and the Liberal Party; that was not why we carried out the revolution. This reasoning contains all the basic elements of a restoration.

"It is a great distortion of ideas which prompts people to say that the exiles who are returning to head political parties have no legitimacy. But there is no virtue in the fact that we suffered here. Quite the reverse; I think that these exiles, many of whom fled prison and disgrace, have an advantage—they have learned to live in freedom, and this is important to restore links with our own democratic tradition."

Octavian Paler met with Silviu Brucan the previous day for 2 hours at the Front's headquarters and states: "He tried to win me over. But he sees things from inside Marxism. He talks about a new democracy. But why does he feel so much repulsion for the Western democracies? What does he not like? I am very frightened of new kinds of democracy. Because I do not understand, I feel distrust."

Silviu Brucan lives isolated in the huge office of the former foreign minister. Behind the double drapes which are constantly kept closed, he tries to think ahead. Ruling from behind the scenes, which he likes, he is seen by Romanians as the inspiration behind the National Salvation Front Council. And, since 25 December, everybody has been able to see that his successive recommendations have usually become the National Salvation Front Council's positions. Because nobody in Bucharest forgets that, between 1945 and 1948, he was one of the architects of the Communists' seizure of power, his statements and actions are carefully scrutinized for any suspicious trace of communism. Paradoxically, the work of this Marxist theoretician remains a mystery for the Romanians: His three essays have all been published in New York. This 73-year-old former communist leader, who has too harsh a laugh and a flinty gaze, is to have his next book "Socialist Pluralism" published simultaneously in New York and Moscow—the ultimate in pretension.

Brucan then answered Paler. While condemning the wave of opportunism which is pushing the press to look for incriminating memories, he revealed to the readers of ROMANIA LIBERA that his critic was not only a member of the Communist Party but chief editor of ROMANIA LIBERA and chairman of the Journalists Union under Nicolae Ceausescu before dissociating himself from the latter. Everybody is in the same boat. And he repeated his argument: Democratic traditions are still weak in Romania.

While several hundred students demonstrated in front of the tanks and armored vehicles surrounding the building to condemn the NSFC's participation in the elections, Silviu Brucan intended to justify this pledge: "The scientific revolution overthrew the central element of the Marxist theory that made the proletariat the ruling class. The number of manual workers is falling, and they are losing their social prestige. They no longer represent society's revolutionary class, whereas the number of intellectuals is increasing. The proletariat presupposed homogenization; the intellectuals lead to differentiation and pluralism. That is the root of the Communist Parties' problems. I think that Communist Parties are doomed to disappear. But I think that some of socialism's humanist values will survive."

Silviu Brucan is an intellectual determined to put his theories into practice. He defended the Front's candidacy because "the formula of parties is doomed, because they are no longer appropriate for an age dominated by the class of intellectuals (whom you in France call cadres). Their discipline is too rigid, their immutable structures were required by the manual workers, but are intolerable to intellectuals. The emergence of Solidarity in Eastern Europe, of the German and French ecologists, of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak forums, and of the people's fronts in the USSR herald the rise of this class. The National Salvation Front is the same thing."

He has no doubt that the National Salvation Front can impose its legitimacy. As proof of its sincerity, he mentioned the roundtable with the opposition called for the following day, forgetting that the National Salvation Front is in the uncomfortable position held by the reformed communist partner in Czechoslovakia or Hungary.

Only one question seems to worry Silviu Brucan: Will the East European societies remain different from those in the West, or will they simply become the same? In the West, he thinks that there is "a class above the intellectuals, that of the capitalists. What you in France call the 200 families. In Eastern Europe, that class does not exist." Silviu Brucan, who still believes in the 200 families, thinks that it is preferable not to give them a boost.

But, in that case, how can the market be introduced?

Brucan replied: No society in Eastern Europe now opposes market laws. It is no longer under discussion. But we must not make the same mistakes in Romania as have been made in Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia under pressure from the West. The introduction was too rapid. We will move slowly, to avoid the anarchical effects of the market (unemployment, inflation, recessions...). We will start with agriculture and then small

enterprises. But all the big infrastructures will remain in state hands, but so will the banks, raw materials, and big industry.

Silviu Brucan, like the coelacanth, has survived all the great upheavals of history. This adept of "socialism with a human face" concluded our interview by praising Montesquieu: "Every authority has an inherent tendency to abuse its authority. To eliminate that we must create an authority which curbs that authority." The interpreter who participated in the interview translated that by "counter-authority." It was he who insisted on the expression "an authority which curbs that authority." The opposition demonstrators on Sunday took him at his word.

No Schools for Serbian, Croatian Minorities

LD0102154890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1112 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—The Romanian Education Ministry has decided, in place of bilingual schools, to open schools which will teach in only one language in 15 Romanian counties populated by minorities.

The Education Ministry said last night that schools in the Hungarian, German, Slovak and Ukrainian languages would be set up.

However, the problem of schooling for the children of ethnic Serbs and Croats, and Yugoslav minorities, is not being mentioned at all. Children from the Serbian and Croatian communities in Romania so far attended the Timisoara Bilingual High School.

The Democratic Alliance of Serbs in Romania has not been fully constituted yet and it has most probably not had time to request the Education Ministry for a Serbian-language school. The question of the equality of citizens is, however, not a matter of requesting those rights, but rather of a principled policy.

The equality of minorities should not depend on the level of organization and cadre capabilities of any single minority. In the conditions that existed during dictator Nicolae Ceausescu's regime, the less numerous minorities certainly remained insufficiently prepared to make use of the possibilities being opened up by the process of democratization.

* Decree Changes Regulations on Wages, Jobs

90EB0218A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Amendments to Regulations on Wages"]

[Text] The National Salvation Front [NSF] Council decrees:

Article 1—The provisions whereby salaries are paid in relation to the fulfillment of criteria, conditions, and exports featured in Law No. 1/1986 and Decree No. 161/1986, are abrogated.

Article 2—In the areas of construction, capital repairs, drilling, geology, agriculture, design and research, and all the other economic sectors, salaries will be paid monthly in keeping with the work performed, the production achieved, or other indexes, as appropriate, which express the volume of activities, without any longer applying monthly deductions of 10 to 20 percent of the salary. The deductions applied in the course of 1989 or since the date of the beginning of the work, as appropriate, will be repaid in full over 1990-1991 in accordance with the proration that will be decided by the ministries and other central offices together with the financing banks.

The salaries of personnel employed in schools, art, culture, health care, publishing houses, movie houses, and other social, cultural, and state administration offices will be paid in keeping with the fulfillment of work tasks, but will no longer depend on the fulfillment of political-ideological or other indexes.

Article 3—The regulations on unlimited salary deductions without a guaranteed minimum, featured in Laws No. 57/1974, No. 2/1983, No. 1/1986, and other bills, are abrogated.

In exceptional cases in which the production process is halted for technical reasons or other motives independent of the personnel's work, salaries will be paid in accordance with the Labor Code provisions.

Article 4—Allowances paid for work in harmful, difficult or dangerous conditions, and other categories of allowances will be paid to all those entitled to them by law, without limit and without the other restrictions established under decrees issued to plan holders.

The jobs for which up to 10 percent higher tariff wages are paid for difficult work conditions, investment projects, and other work for which building site allowances are paid, will be established by the ministries or by local state administration offices of each counties, and of Bucharest municipality, according to specific cases, pending approval by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare.

Article 5—Article 3, paragraph 1 of Decree No. 216/1977 is abrogated; for the years 1988, 1989; subsequently, personnel will be classfied in groups I and II of employment for retirement purposes, in accordance with the law in effect.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare will update the regulations adopted for the implementation of this decree.

Article 6—Promoting workers to categories a5-a and higher will no longer be predicated on training for a second trade; the provisions of Article IX of Decree No. 19/1989 are abrogated.

Article 7—The provisions of article 16, paragraph 4 and article 33, paragraphs 2 and 3 of Law No. 57/1974, concerning:

a) limits on the number of workers who can be employed in the highest category of tariff networks;

b) limits on the number of persons who can be promoted to grades 4, 5, 6, and 7 within the overall number established by law, are abrogated.

Workers will be classified in the highest category, and technical, economic, specialized, and administrative personnel [TESA] will be employed in grades 4, 5, 6, and 7 according to the criteria established by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare together with the Ministries of National Economy and Finance.

Article 8—The ranking of enterprises, plants, other units, as well as production subunits—sections, workshops, etc.—is approved by hierarchically superior cadres on the basis of the ranking criteria established by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare together with the other ministries and relevant central offices.

Article 9—The provisions of Law No. 57/1974 on establishing salary levels and groups of branches under the plan or by decree, are abrogated.

The above prerogatives are transferred to the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare.

Article 10—The minimum length of service required under Law No. 12/1971 for promotion in category or position, and the minimum length of service required for in-step or grade promotion may be reduced by up to 50 percent for young and capable cadres who show particularly good results in their work. Such reductions must be nominally approved by the minister, leader of the relevant central body, or the county office to which the respective unit belongs.

Article 11—The list of positions in each unit will be approved by hierarchically superior cadres, and will specify the skills required for each position.

The studies and length of service required for positions not listed in Law No. 12/1971 will be specified in a catalogue scheduled to be worked out by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare within 30 days.

Article 12—The percentage quotas, tariffs, and tariff salaries used to calculate wages, envisaged in article 113, paragraphs 1 and 2; article 193 paragraph 2; and article 201, paragraph 2 of Law No. 57/1974 are established by the ministries and other central offices within which the respective work is performed, together with the Ministries of Labor and Social Welfare and of Finance, in correlation with the tariff salaries of personnel employed in similar work.

Article 13—Persons fired for political reasons prior to 22 December 1989 or who have returned to the homeland will be paid as envisaged under article 200, paragraph 2 of Law No. 57/1974; the uninterrupted length of service they had in the same unit up to the date of termination of their work contract will be taken into consideration in calculating the due length of service increment.

Article 14—The amounts overpaid by 31 December 1989 for failure to observe the provisions abrogated or amended under the present decree will not be recovered.

Article 15—The provisions of article 3, paragraph 1 of Law No. 1/1986 on the obligation to ensure a strict correlation between salaries and increases in labor productivity, and the provisions of article 47, paragraph 1, letters F and G of Law No. 5/1985, are abrogated.

Article 16—The term "remuneration" used in Law No. 57/1974 and other regulations is replaced by the term "salary."

Article 17—The Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare may issue the necessary instructions for implementing the provisions of the present decree-law [as published].

Article 18—The provisions of the present decree-law will come into effect on 1 January 1990.

Demonstrations Reported in Macedonia, Kosovo

Albanians in Macedonia

LD0102144490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1253 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Tetovo, February 1 (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanian separatists and nationalists staged demonstrations in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, too, today.

Around 2,000 demonstrators chanted Greater-Albanian separatist and chauvinst slogans in the town of Tetovo at around noon today.

Today's were the first demonstrations of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia since the first unrests were incited by ethnic Albanian separatists and terrorist in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo ten days ago.

Ethnic Albanians account for 20 percent of Macedonia's population and are the strongest ethnic group after the Macedonians. Some border settlements in Macedonia are predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians.

Police Break Up Tetovo Protest

LD0102174190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Tetovo, February 1 (TANJUG)—A demonstration by Albanian chauvinists and separatists this afternoon in Tetovo, a town in Yugoslavia's Republic of Macedonia, was broken up by the police.

Today is a market day in Tetovo, and the demonstration started near the market about noon. The organizers expected that many ethnic Albanians would join in but this did not occur.

This was the first demonstration in Tetovo following those started by Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the neighbouring Kosovo Province ten days ago. Ethnic Albanians make up over 20 per cent of Macedonia's population. They are the second-largest group after the Macedonians and the majority population in some Macedonian villages along the border with Albania.

Kosovo Body Denies Policeman's Death

LD0102123490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Executive Council has denied that a policeman was killed in clashes with demonstrators. Representatives of the provincial government presented the original information at a press conference this morning, but afterwards they denied it. Thus, according to this information of the Executive Council, 18 demonstrators and citizens died in the latest demonstrations of Albanian separatists.

Air Force Over Pristina; Army Mobilized

LD0102133990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Air Force planes are flying over Pristina, and the units of the Yugoslav People's Army have been observed moving in several directions in the province.

A large number of demonstrators took to the streets in Podujevo again today and clashed with security forces. Many Serbian and Montenegrin families from Podujevo left their homes.

Demonstrations on a smaller scale than previously, with a significantly reduced number of participants, are also taking place in several villages in Kosovo. There were attempts to stage demonstrations in Pristina today. About 700 demonstrators caused a disturbance in the market area of the town and around the Pristina television building.

Tanks, Planes Deployed

AU0102173690 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Feb 1 (AFP)—Tanks moved in as Albanian nationalists battled police in Podujevo on Thursday, correspondents said, while officials announced a death toll of 19 dead since Saturday across Kosovo province.

Army tanks had taken up position in the heart of Podujevo, north of here, and one of the hotbeds of violence this week, Agence France-Presse correspondents reported, as Army warplanes flew over the provincial capital Pristina. Another column of Army tanks was seen heading in mid-afternoon towards Milosevo, a central city near Pristina.

Numerous Serbian families - the tiny ethnic minority in Kosovo which is 90 per cent Albanian - had quickly packed up bags and were fleeing the city, one man on his way out said.

The official TANJUG news agency, meanwhile, said nationalist demonstrations spread Thursday to the neighboring republic of Macedonia, which has a 20 per cent Albanian minority. Some 2,000 people marched through the Macedonian's largely Albanian city of Tetovo in a show of support for nationalist demands.

More movement by military vehicles was spotted at the Kosovo-Serbian border. Witnesses said the vehicles had been stationed in Serbia, just over the Kosovo border, since the latest trouble broke out about 10 days ago. A Yugoslav source in Belgrade said the movement was intended as a show of force for Albanian nationalists, who are protesting Serbia's extension of control over the autonomous province last year and demanding that Kosovo be made a republic.

An official spokesman in Belgrade said the latest violence had left 19 people dead since Saturday and another 100 wounded. The official death toll is close to that of last March when 22 ethnic Albanians were killed during 48 hours of clashes with police in the last major outbreak of violence in this southern province. Kosovo has been under emergency rule since then. And though Army units have been deployed in Kosovo for two years now, they have never directly intervened to put down demonstrations.

A reliable source said stormy debates were heard at a special meeting of the Yugoslav state presidency late Wednesday over whether to use the Army to restore order in Kosovo. But the idea of a military intervention was defeated in a six to two vote by representatives from the six republics and two autonomous provinces, the source said. The two who voted "for" were thought to be Serbia and its traditional ally, Montenegro. The vote was seen as reflecting a broader, national split over Kosovo, with Serbia and Montenegro on one side and Slovenia and Croatia leading the other republics.

The latest casualty toll was announced by spokeswoman Jorgovanka Milojevic, who said the dead were "18 demonstrators and citizens" and one policeman, while 54 demonstrators and citizens were injured along with 44 police. Belgrade radio said seven Albanians were killed on Wednesday alone.

Since Wednesday, major rallies have been held in Serbia and Montenegro to back Serbia's firm stand on Kosovo and support the Serbian minority there. The rallies have reportedly been orchestrated by Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic and Belgrade's Serbian leadership.

One on Wednesday, however, went awry when 5,000 to 6,000 Serbs in Belgrade's main square chanted "down with communism" and insulted the late Yugoslav leader Josef Broz Tito as a "criminal" in unprecedented scenes under communist rule here.

Meanwhile in Geneva, some 300 Albanians originally from Kosovo rallied on Thursday urging the United Nations to set up a special committee to investigate human rights' abuses against Albanians in Yugoslavia. The group, the Popular Movement for the Republic of Kosovo, asked that Albanians in Yugoslavia be given "the status of a nation" and that Kosovo be granted "the status of republic". They also asked for an end to the state of emergency in Kosovo, the release of political prisoners, and the "retreat of military forces".

In Albania, Tirana radio read a statement by the Democratic Front, the official organization that acts as a link between the party and the people, condemning what it called the "savage police violence" in Kosovo. It also said it was "in the interest of Yugoslavia itself" to use "democratic dialogue" to end the strife in Kosovo and grant the ethnic Albanians "the democratic freedoms and rights on an equal basis with those enjoyed by the other people in Yugoslavia".

Several Hundred Protest in Pristina

AU0102182390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Last night again there was no peace in Podujevo. Separatists stoned the house and photographer's studio owned by Milan Zivkovic last night. Like many of his fellow citizens, ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins, he evacuated his family from Podujevo. Several hundred women and children from around Pristina set off from the Kosovo Polje railroad station in the direction of Serbia. Separatists are spreading rumors about an allegedly large number of people having been killed and about the militia's brutality and threaten retaliation, so it is understandable that many Serbs and Montenegrins are evacuating their families from the province.

Apart from the already usual work stoppages in many Kosovo collectives, there was also some minor unrest in villages around Suva Reka and Prizren, Musotiste, Korisa, Gorazde, and Ljubizde. Group of several hundred Albanians are shouting the slogan— Long live the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo—and are demanding the Kosovo leadership's replacement. About 200 workers of the Janjevo Metalac Factory left the factory premises this morning. Groups of citizens more and more frequently ask for protection from the members of the combined militia unit.

A group of several hundred mainly young Albanians started demonstrating in Pristina at about noon. They are heading in the direction of the Vranjevac suburb and the militia is trying to disperse them with tear gas. While we are reporting this, about 1,000 people are demonstrating in the Vranjevac suburb.

At a news conference today, Jorgovanka Milojevic, provincial secretary for information, said that 18 people have died and 54 demonstrators and citizens have been wounded in the Kosovo unrest so far. It was also stated at this news conference, which was obviously poorly prepared, that one militiaman has died, but this was denied later. One member of the security service is seriously wounded and doctors are still fighting for his life. Forty-three militiamen have been injured and wounded. Jorgovanka Milojevic promised that the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs will present a more complete report on events in the province today or tomorrow at the latest. [passage omitted]

15,000 Meet in Glogovac for Funerals

LD0102162890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—About 15,000 Albanians gathered silently in Glogovac this afternoon. The gatherings are linked with the funeral of the three demonstrators who were killed in this city last night.

Groups of several hundred Albanians were also noticed in the vicinity of Titova Mitrovica, Pristina, and several other places in the province.

Children Evacuated From Kosovo

LD0102181290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Some 400 children, including the youngest ones, were evacuated today by trains from Kosovo to Belgrade. The number of evacuees is undoubtedly greater because many refused to give information to the care center for threatened Serbs and Montenegrins, which has been set up in Kosovo Polje.

Women and children from the most threatened Kosovo villages—where only several Serbian houses remain—are also being evacuated. They are going to their relatives and friends outside the province. The majority of men in Kosovo are staying behind.

The care center has been set up by the Kosovo Polje youth organization in an attempt to provide shelter to threatened families in this city.

Albanians in Titova Mitrovica

LD0102191590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Despite the fact that production in the Titova Mitrovica collectives is proceeding normally, except in the Stari Trg mine in Trepca, the political situation in this municipality is nevertheless extremely complex. The most difficult situation is in the Stari Trg mine in Trepca, where the first and second shift of miners today did not enter the pit but were signing the declaration of the Society for Human Rights from Pristina, paying tribute to the dead demonstrators by keeping silent. This was said at today's session of the all three chambers of the Titova Mitrovica Municipal Assembly, as it called on all working people and citizens, particularly Albanians, to expend maximum efforts toward preventing bloodshed and toward ensuring normal living and working conditions for members of all the nations and nationalities in the province.

The Trepca workers were addressed in Pristina radio's broadcast today by Cazim Salja, the president of the Trepca management board. He called on the Trepca workers to resume work, energetically counter Albanian separatists and nationalists, and respect the decisions by the management and self-managing organs and the state organs' measures.

About 2,000 Albanian nationalists and separatists are demonstrating in Titova Mitrovica tonight. The security forces are managing to prevent them from entering the town with tear gas so they are still stationed on the Serbica Road out of Titova Mitrovica. The demonstrators will be, as we have learned, addressed by representatives of the sociopolitical organizations and municipality of Titova Mitrovica and will be warned that they should disperse in a peaceful way to avoid the use of force.

2 Killed in Podujevo, Kosovo

AU0102194890 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] During armed clashes between demonstrators and members of the security forces, two people were killed today in Podujevo and, according to unofficial reports, five others were injured. One demonstrator died during clashes between the militia and militant demonstrators, while another participant in the demonstrations died [passage indistinct].

During today's demonstrations in Podujevo, in which about 800 people participated, severe clashes with the militia occurred on the outskirts of the city, where two demonstrators were injured. Clashes took place also near the village of (?Lucan), where three people were injured in continuous attacks during which shots were fired at the militia.

The security forces managed to disperse the demonstrators after an intervention which lasted 5 hours. Armored cars of the Yugoslav People's Army drove today through the center of Podujevo. Their appearance was met with whistles and the shouting of hostile slogans. Disinformation is being spread in the city by Albanian separatists [words indistinct] that a large number of people were allegedly killed during last night's clashes. [passage indistinct] The authorities have stated that this is disinformation, adding that the terrorists need to spread such lies in order to exacerbate the situation.

A large number of citizens of Serb and Montenegrin nationality have [passage indistinct] evacuated their families in neighboring communes.

1 Feb Kosovo Situation

AU0102212890 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 1 February devotes 29 minutes of an extended 70-minute newscast to reports on the situation in various Kosovo communes. These reports follow immediately a 22-minute bloc of news devoted to activities at the federal and republican level concerning the situation in Kosovo.

The first situation report deals with today's events in Podujevo, where two people are reported to have been killed.

This is followed by an indistinct report that Serb and Montgenegrin citizens have evacuated their families to neighboring, presumably Serbian, communes.

The political and security situation in Djakovica Commune, according to the next report, continues to be "severe and complicated." Thousands of citizens are said to have marched through the city at about 1400, shouting slogans. The announcer says that two people were killed there last night in clashes between demonstrators and the militia.

The situation in Prizren Commune is reported as being "complicated, with a tendency to deteriorate," according to an assessment by the Communal League of Communists (LC) Committee. Some demonstrations and strikes took place today in the city and surrounding villages.

The announcer says that about 2,000 people demonstrated today in Titova Mitrovica, adding that "the police are still striving to disperse them through the use of "chemical means." Groups of activists also tried to persuade the demonstrators to disperse. Demonstrations also took place in some villages, while the third shift of miners at Stari Trg refused to go to work, following the example of the first and second shifts. At the battery accumulators factory, the workers called on Communists to return their party membership cards as a protest against the situation.

These are followed by a number of other reports on the situation in the communes of Suva Reka, Gnjilane, and Pec, where some demonstrations are reported to have been held today, both in these cities and in surrounding villages, although no casualties are reported. Strikes are also reported to continue in these communes. Militia apparently used only tear gas to disperse demonstrators, and the usual slogans are reported to have been shouted.

The situation in Urosevac, according to the announcer, appears to be more "tense," with demonstrations taking place both in the city and in the countryside. Activists tried to persuade people to give up. The demonstrators, according to the announcer, called for the resignation of Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee Presidium. The demonstrators also chanted slogans for "Democracy, against violence." Some factories are also reported to be paralyzed by strikes.

The two reports that follow, from the communes of Vitina and Kamenice, say that citizens have been complaining to the authorities about "the militia's behavior" and "indiscriminate beatings of citizens." Strikes by workers and shopkeepers are also reported from these two communes. The authorities have banned tomorrow's market in Kamenice. The report from Vitina speaks about five or six people having been injured by the militia. Meanwhile citizens are said to have been signing the petition organized by the Kosovo Democratic League entitled "For Democracy, Against Violence."

The announcer also quotes TANJUG on the decision of a Serb and Montenegrin organization in Kosovo-Polje, near Pristina, to create centers to shelter endangered people, as well as on the evacuation of children to neighboring, presumably Serbian, communes.

The last situation report is from Tetovo, in Macedonia, where a demonstration by members of the Albanian nationality is said to have been dispersed by the militia.

The announcer also mentions the condemnation of the demonstrations by the Kosovo Youth Federation and by a trade union official at the Trepca Combine, calling on workers to return to work in order not to exacerbate the situation.

These reports on the actual situation in the province is followed by a 10-minute bloc of reports on reactions to the Kosovo situation by official bodies in Serbia and other republics.

Kosovo Demonstrators Dispersed

LD0102222390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2150 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—Demonstrations which were organized by ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists in a number of towns and villages in the Yugoslav southern province of Kosovo today were dispersed between 7 and 8 p.m.

There were fewer protesters than in the past days, but their violence was undiminished. Shots were fired in several towns again today and three persons were killed and a number were wounded in clashes between demonstrators and police.

Serbian and Montenegrin villages are tonight being patrolled by guards posted by the villagers to protect them from possible attack.

The appearance today of units of the Yugoslav People's Army in Kosovo gave courage and a feeling of security.

Army 'Somewhat Easing' Situation

LD0202011490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2350 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—The movement of Army units throughout the province of Kosovo has greatly contributed to somewhat easing the situation in the province today, the ninth day of ethnic Albanian demonstrations.

All those under threat in Kosovo see the Army movements as an encouragement, despite the fact that groups of young ethnic Albanians greeted soldiers with booing and with raised middle fingers on each hand—a symbol of the latest demonstrations.

Demonstrations were staged this evening near the town of Lipljani, where one person was killed in the village of Magure, and in Pec, where demonstrators shot at the police from barricades. Two demonstrators—a boy and a girl—were killed in the town of Podujevo.

Some 300 citizens gathered in Prizren this evening. Peaceful demonstrations by ethnic Albanians were also staged near the town of Janjevo, where Croats live.

The funerals of the killed demonstrators and citizens were also turned into special political events. Some 30,000 people attended the funerals of the two killed men in the villages of Glogovac and Stanovac, near Vucitrn. The Stanovac funeral was even wired for sound, and it turned into a political rally. Several hundred citizens gathered in Djakovica for the funeral of a man killed in demonstrations, and marched through the town silently, carrying candles.

Flags were flown at half mast at a funeral in Malisevo, which was also attended by all the local officials.

Barricades were put up in the towns which were not the scene of demonstrations today. In the village of Zegra, between Vitina and Gnjilane, barricades were made of bundles of straw and stones. When local activists and policemen started removing the barricades, they were attacked by shepherd dogs.

Separatists in this part of Kosovo are also equipped with special radio stations, enabling them to tune in to police messages and so find out their movements in advance.

Serbs and Montenegrins were evacuated from some villages with the majority ethnic Albanian population into villages where their compatriots live. Village vigils were staged this evening as well.

Kosovo Said 'Peaceful, But Tense'

LD0202102490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Kosovo this morning is mainly peaceful, but tense. After yet another night spent in the presence of the strong security forces and vigilante groups, the day, which no one ventures to guess whether or not it will be the same as yesterday, has begun. Many enterprises are not working, or the workforce is only present, so that production has almost ceased. The employees, divided on the basis of national affiliation, comment in their own ways on the dramatic developments and are awaiting the outcome.

Kosovo Calm; Serbs Evacuate Families

AU0202124690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] There have been no new disorders in Kosovo this morning. As of the time we are reporting, it was relatively calm in all the places where clashes between the demonstrators and the militia had previously occurred. Movements by Yugoslav People's Army units are observed in the regions of Suva Reka, Prizren, Titova Mitrovica, and Podujevo again today. The appearance of the Yugoslav People's Army personnel gives new hope to the citizens of Kosovo, especially the Serbs and the Montenegrins, that the grave situation in the province will calm down more quickly.

However, many people evacuated their families from Kosovo this morning. Several hundred women and children left Kosovo Polje by train to Serbia. Two buses with women and children from the Ljubizde village near Prizren, which has been under attack by Albanian separatists, are expected to arrive today in Kosovo Polje, which is considered to be one of the most secure places in the province.

It is expected that Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, will arrive in Pristina any minute. It is announced that he will first attend a session of the Kosovo Presidency, and then have talks with the leadership of Pristina University.

At this moment, citizens of Serbian and Montengrin nationality are gathering in the Boro I Ramiz Center in Pristina.

Kosovo Death Toll Updated

LD0202145290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Twenty demonstrators have been killed and several dozen injured in demonstrations in Kosovo since 23 January. There are also several dozen injured among the members of the security forces.

This was stated today by Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs, who briefed Federal Chamber delegates on the recent activity of this service in our southern province.

Serbs, Montenegrins Meet in Pristina

LD0202151690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—About 10,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Pristina and nearby places held a protest meeting at the Boro i Ramiz youth center in Pristina and expressed their firm resolve not to leave Kosovo.

In the message which—on behalf of a group of Pristina intellectuals of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who organized the protest—was read out by Aco Rakocevic, it is stated that "it is our sacred duty and a matter of honor, love for freedom, patriotism, and loyalty to Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia to preserve our ancestors' homeland."

Full support was given at the meeting to the measures of the Federal Executive Council, the SFRY Presidency, and the Serbian Presidency for the stabilization of Kosovo's dramatic situation. The participants requested that all means available to a law-governed state be used to secure peace, freedom, and the safety of Serbs and Montenegrins and all threatened Yugoslav-oriented people in Kosovo.

The meeting proceeded in dignity, without any excesses.

5 Dead in 1 Feb Pristina Protests

LD0202152390 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The situation in Kosovo today is marked by three events: New demonstrations taking place in Pristina; a rally of Serbs and Montenegrins in the Boro i Ramiz hall; and the visit of SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek to Pristina. Today's daily news begins with a report from Pristina by Miljenko Pajelic:

[Pajelic] The worst thing for a reporter is the fact that events are overtaking each other and that it is difficult to be present at and take note of all of them. Let us begin with the most topical—demonstrations. A large group of people set off from the Vranjevac district towards the center of Pristina, headed mainly by old men in traditional Albanian white hats. The special forces tried to stop them by firing tear gas. This was obviously effective because the demonstrators have dispersed. What will happen next is hard to predict; perhaps as you listen to this it is all over, or perhaps the situation was gotten worse. [passage omitted]

Today a press conference was also held with Darko Marin, Federal Executive Council secretary for information. He stressed that the information services in Kosovo during these difficult times had failed and that journalists had not been able to get hold of information. He also said that the sources of information had been closed instead of open. For that reason he called on all organs in the province to change their attitude and to make available to journalists all sources of information. That is why a press center in Pristina should be opened today, probably in the Provincial Executive Council.

Also today, we learned that in the demonstrations yesterday five more people died, three of them women. Particular emphasis is placed on 25-year-old Fadilj Kala, who was shot at from a tank in Podujevo. An official investigation into this incident has been opened, we have learned. Another demonstrator has been killed in the Vranjevac district, it is reported, and shooting has been heard in the area of the town called Suncani Breg. [passage omitted]

Papers Differ Over Kosovo Events

LD0102134990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1148 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 1 (TANJUG)—"The ten-year-long Kosovo drama is obviously entering a tragic act, pulling the territorially unimpaired but politically divided Yugoslavia to the edge of an abyss," the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes today, commenting on the ten-day rebellion of ethnic-Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo.

The daily charges "parts of the leaderships" of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia with supporting the ethnic-Albanian separatists but underscores that political disagreements and indecision on the part of the highest Yugoslav leaderships over the years are also responsible for the Kosovo tragedy.

"A civil war scenario is at work" in Yugoslavia, the Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES warns. It, too, criticizes the leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia for urging a dialogue with the terrorists and asks whether a dialogue is possible with those who are firing from machine guns and mortars at civilians and members of security forces.

POLITIKA EKSPRES criticizes Yugoslav President Janaz Drnovsek for urging that problems in Kosovo be resolved through dialogue. It points out that consensus "has been achieved at the world level" that states should combat terrorism by all means, which it says is not the case in Yugoslavia.

"A dialogue of moderates is the only way to put a stop to the senseless bloodshed in Kosovo, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes. It warns, however, that the problem cannot be resolved by either Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic, the ethnic- Albanians who have rebelled or the politicians of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia. The Yugoslav Government alone, as a neutral arbiter, can bring together the two sides in conflict, the Serbian and the ethnic-Albanian, on the basis of its Kosovo programme, the daily sets out.

The Zagreb VECERNJI list accuses the Serbian leadership of "state violence" against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. It calls for a new policy in Kosovo, where it says "it is necessary to establish a legal state." Yugoslavia cannot enter Europe with Kosovo as it is now, the daily warns.

"All earlier Yugoslav differences over Kosovo are being repeated this time too, but only in a more abrupt and sharper form," the SARAJEVO OSLOBODJENJE writes. The daily says that Kosovo "is becoming the major cause of the Yugoslav rift" and warns that time for the solution of the Kosovo problem is running out.

The daily RILINDJA, published in Albanian in Kosovo' capital Pristina, calls for an end to the demonstrations and the restoration of public law and order in Kosovo. "Members of all (Yugoslav) nations and nationalities and all who wish Yugoslavia and its citizens well must respond to the voice of reason" the Pristina daily underscores and urges ethnic Albanians to stay away from the nationalist who are "hiding behind demands for democracy."

Drnovsek Arrives in Pristina With 'New Ideas'

LD0202120690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Feb (TANJUG) —Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived in Pristina

just before noon. President Drnovsek will address the expanded session of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on the situation in Kosovo.

Speaking at the entrance to the provincial assembly building, Drnovsek told journalists that he has some new ideas which he hopes will help the people of Kosovo to overcome the present situation.

Begins Talks; Demonstrators Dispersed

LD0202144190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1305 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 2 (TANUG)—At the time President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Dr Janez Drnovsek in the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was conferring with the province's top leaders about the political and security situation, a group of about 300 young people tried to break their way to the assembly building where the talk is being held and to the city centre. Police intervened and demonstrators were readily dispersed.

The latest information, received until 1300 local time, said that the situation is relatively peaceful but tense in most of the Kosovo localities. The largest number of movements and rallies of Albanians are reported in the Glogovac and Djakovica communes ahead of the funeral of the demonstrators who lost their lives yesterday. Demonstrations, however, were attempted also in Dragas, where over one thousand members of Albanian nationality gathered. In this commune, in addition to Albanians, the other half of the population are Goranci, known as industrious and peaceloving people.

Meantime, over 5,000 Serbs and Montenegrins rallied at noon in the Pristina centre Boro I Ramiz to protest over Albaian separatists' violence.

Calls for Calm in Kosovo

AU0202163190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Shortly after 1500, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek informed the public in Kosovo, in Yugoslavia, and abroad about the SFRY Presidency's views on solving the crisis and the complications in Kosovo. He stressed that the situation was very dramatic and extremely tense, which is a great obstacle and burden for the present strivings in the direction of economic transformations and political democratization.

Yugoslavia is determined to carry out political reforms as soon as possible and also to introduce pluralism with a multiparty system. President Drnovsek then said that within this policy, one also takes great care for human rights and true equality of all the peoples and nationalities, and within this framework for the equality of the nationalities living in Kosovo.

Our special correspondent Marjan Drobez, who summarizes President Drnovsek's views, reports that Janez Drnovsek, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, called on the Albanian nationality, the Serbs and the Montenegrins, and the members of all the peoples and nationalities in Kosovo to stop their confrontations, demonstrations, and other forms of protest. After such a calming down, we could create an atmosphere and conditions for a peaceful solution of the problems in the province, especially those that concern the economic situation and development.

As we are reporting, President Drnovsek is talking with representatives of the Albanians and the Malisevo commune, where police killed some innocent Albanians who were merely expressing in a peaceful way their protests against the present situation in Kosovo.

The President of the SFRY Presidency will also meet representatives of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. Janez Drnovsek arrived in Kosovo at the moment when he was being booed at a large meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins in the Boro and Ramiz Youth Hall in Pristina. Over 6,000 people gathered there. They also announced that so-called volunteers from Serbia will come to Kosovo today; they are supposed to help the Serbs and the Montenegrins in Kosovo to implement the Serbian policy. These volunteers are to be armed. The Serbs and the Montenegrins at the meeting also issued an ultimatum to the SFRY Presidency, stating that it must settle the situation by this evening, but they did not say what measures are supposed to achieve this.

In general, the visit by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, to Pristina is occurring in a tense atmosphere. The assembly building in which talks were held is surrounded by a special unit of the Yugoslav People's Army. Groups of demonstrators from the Vranjevac District marched toward the building, but militiamen dispersed them with tear gas.

Markovic Comments on Kosovo Situation

Government Dialogue With Forces

LD0102174590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 1 (TANJUG)—The government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic said on Thursday that conditions were being created for a differentiation between the separatist and democratic forces in Yugoslavia's troubled Kosovo Province. Dialogue would be started with the democratic forces, provided they accept the integrity of the country and implementation of the economic and social reforms.

A statement issued by the government's Secretariat for Information notes that the federal state functions and carries out its duties, which is a guarantee that the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, personal security and security of property, freedom [word indistinct] rights of

all Kosovo citizens, and especially Serbs and Montenegrins, will be [words indistinct]. The government therefore holds that all activities outside the institutions of [words indistinct] especially the organization of rallies, demonstrations and strikes, should be refrained from as they can hamper the state organs in performing their duties.

The government also notes that the Yugoslav public is not being fully and well informed about developments in Kosovo and the measures being taken there. It has therefore decided to send Secretary for Information Draskop Marin to the province in order to improve information from it.

State Role in Kosovo

AU0102170790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Arte Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, spoke today to delegates of all three chambers of the Belgrade Assembly. Of course, the part of his speech pertaining to the state's future and present activity in Kosovo was particularly interesting. This is what Markovic said:

[Begin Markovic recording] Taking advantage of the situation we have here now, these separatist forces in Kosovo want in fact to make reform in Kosovo impossible, because if this reform penetrates into Kosovo, they will no longer have the opportunities they have now. [applause]

I have to say here that we have undertaken everything that we have to undertake as a state to fully protect the entire population, no matter who they are, innocent population and property, everything which is of the interest to Serbs, Montenegrins, and other peoples, as well as honest Albanians who are a majority and who mostly do not have separatist views. They all should be protected and all given a chance to find themselves and to do so together in the pluralism of the system that we have been building and within the framework of our country's integrity and its constitutional setup which can by no means be called into question. We shall commit ourselves to realize all this to the very end. [end recording]

Separatists Said Against Reform

LD0102144990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Separatist forces in Kosovo want to prevent reforms from reaching the province, because, when the reforms arrive, those forces will stand no chance, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic stressed at today's session of the Belgrade Assembly.

The FEC, according to Markovic, will do everything to ensure that in a pluralistic climate, everyone, even in Kosovo, finds his or her place within the framework of the united country, the integrity of which must not be jeopardized.

LCY President Pancevski on Kosovo Events

LD0102190890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], regardless of existing problems in its ranks, must in this difficult moment—together with all progressive and democratic forces in society, and especially in Kosovo—gather enough strength to be more vigorous and efficient in preventing further escalation of the tragic situation in Kosovo, Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, told TANJUG in connection with the latest events in Kosovo.

In past days Yugoslavia has been confronted with an extremely dramatic, tragic, and fateful situation—one of the most difficult ones since the liberation—for the peaceful, free, and creative life and work of all our people; for the further preservation and realization of equality, brotherhood and unity, and social reforms, which should secure for the people a better, richer, and more humane life; as well as for the preservation of the gains of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution, especially the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of the SFRY.

Such a situation, in Pancevski's view, is a direct consequence of the crude escalation of Great Albanian chauvinism, separatism, and terrorism in Kosovo, which is marked by elements of armed uprising, broad indoctrination and unscrupulousness, and extreme lack of human feelings as is seen in the manipulation of people, in the sacrifice of irreplaceable human lives, and in sowing of hatred and the stirring up of divisions among people. All of this contrasts deeply with the Albanian nationality's vital and historic interests. History has always shown that every nation, or some of its representatives—who were the object of manipulations and an instrument for achieving the aims of various sinister and retrograde ideologies and forces—have always been sacrificed for someone else's interests, and that they are bearing the most tragic consequences of all this.

The LCY has very clear and elaborate views on the main causes, generators, and aims of Greater Albanian chauvinism and separatism, especially in the political platform on Kosovo and in other documents of LCY organs.

One of the main causes of such a situation is a wrong policy, conducted for a long time—which in fact stimulated nationalism and separatism—with the ultimate aim of creating a Kosovo republic and with unconcealed aspirations for destroying the integrity of Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, for secession from Yugoslavia, and for the creation of a so-called Greater Albania.

Since the eighties, and especially in the past few years, the LCY and society as a whole have been outlining a new policy on Kosovo's problems and on overcoming the causes and phenomena of Greater Albanian nationalism and separatism. The essence of this policy is chiefly based on principled and progressive political postulates and orientations suited to our policy of further development and to the reaffirmation of intranational relations.

Within this context, Pancevski stressed, it is unfounded and unacceptable to assume, as some do, that this new policy failed to yield the necessary results, and that it should be changed because of this. It is as if those who do assume this consciously forget that this policy could not yield more significant results for the main reason that in practice it was not applied very often, or with difficulty, due to exceptional resistance on the part of some previous bureaucratized and corrupt political leadership in Kosovo and elsewhere, and also due to considerable resistance and differences of opinion in some areas of the country about the causes of the situation and methods for overcoming the extremely unfavorable situation in Kosovo and elsewhere. All of these events were extended, especially today, by the direct encouragement of Albania and various emigrant groups, with the clear motive and aim—by means of further escalating the situation in Kosovo—of attracting the attention of the Albanian people and thus preventing the unvoidable process of overthrowing the crude Stalinist regime there.

The LCY, regardless of existing problems in its ranks, must in this difficult moment—together with all progressive and democratic forces in society and especially in Kosovo—gather enough strength to become more vigorous and efficient in ensuring that reason prevails and in preventing further escalation of the tragic situation in Kosovo; it must, openly and on an even broader scale, unmask the true motives and goals of Albanian chauvinists and separatists and those who stand behind them; and create a wide front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others in Kosovo who will act for genuine equality, brotherhood, and unity, and against all ideological and political exponents and forces which are pushing the Albanian people into a fratricidal war.

It is extremely necessary, Pancevski stressed, to immediately end demonstrations and work stoppages, all forms of violence, terror, and jeopardizing the security of people and property for all citizens in Kosovo. It should be repeated now that the LCY has clearly distinguished between the majority of Albanians, who have Yugoslavia in their hearts, and the activity of Greater Albanian chauvinists and separatists, whose main goal is anti-Yugoslav actions and violation of the SFRY's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

At this moment all of us in Yugoslavia, and especially federal bodies, must make efforts so that the state, with all available means and appropriately to the present situation and needs, efficiently opposes and prevents unscrupulous assaults by Albanian chauvinists, separatists, and terrorists on the fundamental human rights and liberties, on the sovereignty and integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia. This is the imperative of our survival as Yugoslavia and the basic prerequisite for preventing the violent destruction of the constitutional and political order and the usurping of power, and the prerequisite for ensuring elementary presuppositions for normal work and life, economic progress, development of democratic relations, and the political resolution of all increasingly more evident problems in Kosovo.

A principled stand on these issues by all individuals and all social and state bodies in the entire country is the basic criteria for determining the true attitude and historical responsibility for the preservation of Yugoslavia.

I am convinced, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said, that the working people and citizens, Communists, all progressive social forces, and all our nations and nationalities will do everything to safeguard the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], federal and socialist Yugoslavia and that they will not permit the dark forces which want to sow discord among our nations, to push them into civil war.

Assembly Drafts Statement on Kosovo

LD0202122490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2205 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—The security forces, especially the police, opposed courageously, devotedly, and with enormous efforts the aggressive assaults of Albanian nationalists and terrorists, who were attacking the constitutional order of the SFRY, citizens' lives, freedom, and rights, and the security of person and property. The security forces' activity was successful and in line with their constitutional and legal powers, stressed the proposed conclusions on the events in Kosovo, adopted this evening at the session of the SFRY Assembly's Committee for Internal Policy.

The conclusions, which will be on the agenda of tomorrow's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, assess that Albanian separatists and terrorists used the break-off of the 14th Extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress and the ensuing events as a pretext for the escalation of their nationalistic-terroristic activity.

The Federal Chamber holds, the document proposes further, that the SFRY Presidency, in line with its constitutional and legal powers, should undertake urgent and energetic measures to prevent attacks of Albanian separatists and terrorists on the constitutional order and the integrity and sovereignty of the SFRY, the security of person and property of all citizens, and in particular, of Serbs and Montenegrins. The Presidency, the document continues, should consider the issue of the reinforcement

of the security forces in Kosovo and should also undertake all available measures, including those in line with Article 316 of the Federal Constitution, on the employment of the Armed Forces in time of peace. The committee considered and endorsed the Secretariat for Internal Affairs' report on the application of special measures in Kosovo. The document cites that, in the period from 22 to 28 January, there were more than 50 synchronized demonstrations involving 30,000 people in the province, and that in the following days, the escalation of violence, with elements of an armed uprising, occurred.

From 22 to 31 January, it is stressed, during the Secretariat for Internal Affairs intervention, 18 demonstrators died and 66 were injured. During the same period, a security force member was seriously injured and 45 slightly injured. The security force activities were legal and correct, the report states. [passage omitted on discussion preceding endorsment of the document, in which several people voiced their disapproval of Albanian separatism]

Army Said Ready To Guard National Integrity

LD0202122890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Albanian nationalists declared clearly that they are in favor of Kosovo's secession from the SFRY and the creation of a Greater Albania. They want to achieve this through force and by destroying Yugoslavia, General Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, said at today's joint session of the SFRY Assembly's Committees for Internal Policy and National Defense.

The intentions of Albanian separatists must be frustrated by all means, even with force. Although respecting different political mechanisms, he said, each law-government state will use even such measures.

The JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] is capable and fully prepared, Brovet continued, to at any moment safeguard the country's integrity and constitutional order, equally in Kosovo as in any other part of Yugoslavia. In connection with this, we shall implement unconditionally and to the end any decision made by the SFRY Presidency.

7 Feb Meeting To Discuss Kosovo

LD0202141790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1239 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Parliament Slobodan Gligorijevic has called a session of both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly for February 7.

Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek would address parliament. He would speak about the political and security situation in the country and about the [illegible] on the situation in [illegible].

Slovene Presidency Denies Blame for Violence

AU0102223690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The Presidency of Slovenia has expressed great concern about the spread of violence in Kosovo. The violation of basic human rights, resistance to the demonstrations by ethnic Albanian citizens, and use of force, as well as calls to arms made by both sides, threaten to develop into wider interethnic conflicts and the Kosovization of the entire country. At the same time, the Presidency resolutely rejects the accusations that Slovenia—that is, its leadership—is to blame, at least partly, for the violence in Kosovo.

F. Hoxha Said 'Coordinator' of Kosovo Events

LD0102221490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2028 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—The chief coordinator of the latest terrorist actions of ethnic Albanian separatists in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, which have been going on for ten days, is Fadil Hoxha, former Kosovo official and vice-president of the Yugoslav State Presidency in 1978, claims the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES today.

In his efforts for the attainment of the insane fascistic plan to create a great Albania, Fadil Hoxha is being helped by a number of dismissed Kosovo officials and firm dictators [as received], among whom former president of the Provincial Presidency Ramzi Kolgeci and former Kosovo party leader Kaqusha Jashari.

The daily claims that these Kosovo separatist leaders are maintaining direct and continual contact with separatists in Slovenia and Croatia, with whom they are coordinating terrorist actions in the province. The Ljubljana-Zagreb-Pristina connection, created with the intention of shattering Yugoslavia's territorial integrity, is being used also for the infiltration of saboteurs from Albania and from Albanian emigre circles in the West, the daily has learned.

The daily writes that among the arrested terrorists and separatists in Kosovo there is a fair sprinkling of those with false passports who, well-informed sources claim, are members of the Albanian Sigurimi secret service. Sigurimi sends its members to Bucharest, Budapest and even Vienna, whence they cross into Yugoslavia unhindered and go to Kosovo, the daily explains the pattern of the terrorists' infiltration of Yugoslavia. Another kind of terrorists are Kosovo's ethnic Albanians temporarily employed in some Western European countries, the daily claims.

According to the scenario carried by the daily, the infiltrated terrorists recruit and pay young ethnic Albanians whose education has mainly been neglected. The

'masses' for rioting are recruited also by spreading fabrications to the effect that the Serbian Police is preparing to attack Albanian homes.

The infiltrated terrorists surround themselves with a group of a hundred or so people and, protected by the living cordon, shoot at police from fire-arms, after which they abandon their group and leave by car for a different town or village in Kosovo, where they work according to the same scenario, POLITIKA EKSPRES writes.

The organizers of the actions, headed by Fadil Hoxha, are endeavouring to create in the eye of the world public the false image that the riots in Kosovo are massive and that all ethnic Albanians have risen up in the struggle for bettering their position in Yugoslavia, writes the daily.

In fact, emphasizes POLITIKA EKSPRES, what we have here is an attack on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, within which Kosovo is a province, on Yugoslavia and on the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo, with the intention of creating a greater Albania.

SAWPY Debates Kosovo Situation

LD0202000990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Not even the extremely dramatic events in Kosovo, which in the opinion of most of the participants in today's unscheduled discussion at the session of the SAWPY [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia] republican conference Presidium are "on the brink of a civil war," succeeded in drawing nearer the stands of representatives of the federal units on how to find a way out. Though all of them called for the establishment of law-governed state, for some this implies the application of all legal means to suppress terrorism and protect human lives, while for others this means urgent abolition of all emergency measures and political trials.

After the unanimous decision at the beginning of the session to postpone the session of the SAWPY federal conference on the same topic convened for 5 February "because the present social situation prevents constructive discussion on Kosovo problems taken as a whole," Zivorad Igic stressed in his introductory report that the third phase of the counterrevolution in Kosovo is under way on which Lazar Mojsov informed the public as long ago as last year. [passage omitted: Igic recalls demonstrations in the past few days and notes that, in comparison with the previous ones, these were considerably more aggressive and dangerous given that demonstrators are now well-armed and have support from Albanian emigrators in the West]

I do not say that it was support from some other Yugoslav environments that gave birth to Albanian separatism, but it has to be stated that the enemy has been encouraged by the suspension of the 14th Extraordinary LCY congress, just like a considerable number of its slogans coincide with the Slovene amendments rejected at this meeting. In Igic's words, additional aid is also arriving from Kosovo's alternative movements behind whose quasi-democratic and social demands completely different aims are concealed. [passage omitted: Igic recalls the statement of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee Presidium which in his view encouraged the enemy. Tahir Hasanovic calls on SFRY Presidency to defend the country's integrity. Bozidar Colakovic says it is our duty before history and the public to give a reply and assume personal and collective responsibility for inability to cope with Kosovo. Others taking part in the discussion blamed the old Kosovo leadership and the fact that it concealed the truth all this time. Omer Djug supports the SFRY Presidency measures in Kosovo. Milan Daljevic notes that the situation in Kosovo is difficult. Pavle Bogetic condemns Slovene leadership for their support of Albanian separatism. Branislav Kovacevic holds that a joint life for all nations and nationalities in Kosovo is possible. Risto Dzunov condemns national hatred in all enviroments]

Joze Hartman's discussion caused an avalanche of reactions.

"In order to avoid foistings about Slovene disinterestedness regarding the events in Kosovo, I must say that we are deeply interested in a peaceful resolution of the Kosovo drama, he said. We support all those fighting for equality in Kosovo and expect firm guarantees for the status of the Serbian and Montengrin minority in the province.

Noting "partial" conclusions of the 14th Extraordinary LCY congress, Hartman called on the Kosovo League of Communists' leadership to stop behaving like someone in power, and on this basis, to describe alternatives as nationalists and to proscribe their conduct. He said that the state of emergency in Kosovo should be lifted immediately and added that, with two exceptions, the police are the ones "killing people" in Kosovo. He also demanded the end of political processes.

According to him, it is impossible to explain why Slovenia should contribute to the federal funds for the undeveloped while the Serbian blockade of Slovenia is in force. All these proposals, he stressed, proceeds from the supposition that the Serbization of Yugoslav politics ended in failure, since it leads to violence. They are, according to Hartman, otherwise in accordance with the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo.

Finally, Hartman proposed that the SAWPY stipulates political solutions in Kosovo and stressed that "those who start to use arms, will be arrested by arms." [passage omitted: Tahir Hasanovic disagrees completely with Joze Hartman; Vasil Tupurkovski welcomes the SFRY Presidency's recent assessment of Kosovo; Slavko Bosanac voices concern existing in Croatia over the situation in Kosovo. Discussion on breaking of contacts between Serbia and Slovenia which, in the

opinion of a number of participants, was caused by the fact that the Slovene's policy contrasts with the LCY and SFRY Assembly's policies on Kosovo. Meeting at Cankar House recalled. On behalf of the Slovene SAWP Slobodan Rakocevic protested against claims that the Slovene leadership supported separatists, confirming that he was against the meeting of truth in Ljubljana and calling for peaceful settlement of the situation in Kosovo and abolition of the state of emergency. Speakers call for talks between leaders of Serbia and Slovenia and also between Croatian and Serbian ones. Deputy Premier Zivko Pregl announced that a Federal Executive Council report on the situation in Kosovo and measures to be taken would be submitted to delegates of SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber tomorrow. Jelena Milojevic read out conclusions of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium on Kosovo. Future of BORBA is discussed.

The majority of the participants in the debate maintained that the unity and wholeness of the BORBA publishing house should be preserved and in this way also the Yugoslav orientation of its editorial policies. The Presidium assessed that BORBA should constitute itself as a social enterprise in accordance with the solution provided by the law on enterprises.

The Presidium then adopted the resignation of BORBA director Milan Rakas and praised his work. [passage omitted: Presidium members elected through a secret ballot Manojlo Vukotic director of the BORBA publishing and printing work organization. Jelena Milojevic informed the Presidium that all the republican and provincial SAWP organization supported Ante Markovic's candidate for the post of the FEC president]

Reaction to Roadblocks on Austrian Border

LD0102222190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—Austria has sent Yugoslavia an unofficial reply concerning statements made by two Defence Ministry officials and said they were speaking on their own behalf when they mentioned road-blocks along the Austrian-Yugoslav border, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a regular press conference here today.

According to Vienna, the two Defense Ministry officials' statements have been incorrectly reported in the paper of the Slovenian national minority NAS TEDNIK, printed in Klagenfurt, the capital of Austria's southern province of Carinthia, Vajgl said.

The two Defence Ministry officials said, and this has also been reported by the Ljubljana daily DELO, that anti-tank road-blocks had been put up out of security reasons, in case of an intervention by the Yugoslav People's Army in the northwestern republic of Slovenia which borders on Austria.

Yugoslavia has asked Vienna for an official explanation for the anti-tank road-blocks put up by the Austrian Army and for the statements in connection with the issue made in the Defence Ministry, Vajgl said.

Yugoslavia believes such moves are not in accord with Austria's statements of support to the stability and integrity of Yugoslavia since they may be damaging to the trust of the Yugoslav public in the policy of the neighbouring country, Vajgl said.

U.S. Envoy's Remarks on Kosovo Criticized

LD0202000290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2302 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ivo Vajgl said today that Yugoslavia would have liked it better if U.S. Ambassador to Belgrade Warren Zimmermann had not given the interview to the U.S. daily BOSTON GLOBE since it cannot contribute to the calming of the situation in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo.

Vajgl said that a calming of the situation in Kosovo was a precondition for the stability and integrity of Yugoslavia and for the continuation of the reform which, according to statements, the United States also supports.

The U.S. ambassador's interview was described in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, as interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

The U.S. ambassador sought to evaluate the courts which are trying the leaders of Albanian separatists. Serbia believes the ambassador spoke with bias about Kosovo and his interview criticized Yugoslavia's policy on Kosovo.

Budimir Loncar Winds Up Visit to Paris

Discusses European Integration

LD0102183290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has not been in "the political East" for 40 years, and in many respects its policy anticipated today's development in the so-called socialist world and the overcoming of the divisions into blocs, said Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, in Paris.

Loncar stayed in Paris at the invitation of the French Institute for International Relations, where he gave a talk for officials of diplomatic missions and other political personalities on the topic "Yugoslavia and Integration Processes in Europe".

Federal Secretary Loncar stressed that "Yugoslavia was in the past ahead of many events and trends in Europe" but occasionally it lagged behind its own solutions and needs in relation to Europe and its role in it. Loncar

stressed his view that "in past decades Yugoslavia was the first and the only regarding initiatives to create alternatives to state socialism." Since then, its borders have been opened and it has conceived, he added, an alternative to political blocs and, in cooperation with some other countries, formed the Nonaligned Movement—"the largest political movement in the history of the mankind." The idea of socialist self-management was also conceived in Yugoslavia, but, under conditions of the consensus-economy, he noted, "it later became one with bureaucratic structure."

After speaking about the process of democratization in Yugoslavia, Loncar devoted particular attention to current political trends in Europe and to Yugoslavia's role in them. He stressed that "our country belongs to Europe not just in view of its geographical position, history, and tradition but also because it has always strived to absorb what is best in its civilizational heritage and to become involved in the process of European integration in which the continent is projected as a whole." Yugoslavia therefore has as its aim close economic relations with the EC and, by implication, with the European Parliament through associations. Yugoslavia wishes to further its cooperation with EFTA [European Free Trade Association], we have submitted a request for membership in the Council of Europe and are convinced that we fulfill conditions for full membership in the OECD.

Loncar expressed satisfaction with the talks held last night after the lecture despite the fact that he had to answer unpleasant questions about the latest separatist outbursts in Kosovo. Loncar says that his interlocutors expressed understanding for the inevitable fact that "sometimes democracy has to be defended by repressive means." He stated this when explaining the background to the problem of Kosovo.

Budimir Loncar assessed his talks with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas in positive terms. Dumas promised French support in Brussels for assistance to Yugoslavia and its reformist course.

Before his departure for Belgrade, Budimir Loncar was received by French Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

Meets With Rocard; Returns

LD0102204590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1938 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—French Prime Minister Michel Rocard assessed the Yugoslav government's latest measures as [words indistinct] towards political, economic and constitutional reforms on the line of democratisation and the introduction of political pluralism.

During a meeting with Yugoslav Foreign Minster Budimir Loncar, Rocard said that the efforts of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government were a precondition for the strengthening of ties between Yugoslavia and the European Community, the European Parliament in Strasbourg and the European Council.

Rocard informed Loncar about yesterday's talks between French officials with Italian President Francesco Cossiga in Paris, at which the two countries expressed their full support for the preservation of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and its orientation toward reforms.

Rocard said he supported the measures aimed at eliminating violence and separatist actions in Kosovo as a precondition for the success of the reforms and democratic development in Yugoslavia.

Rocard and Loncar discussed the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), conventional arms cuts talks in Europe and the necessity of the adoption of measures which would enable broader cooperation and association among European Community and other countries.

They also discussed French President Francois Mitterrand's idea that Europe gradually become a confederation, the setting up of a new system of stability and security as the main components of the process of continental establishment.

Loncar raised the question of North-South relations, pointing out Yugoslavia's role as the chair-country of the movement of nonalignment.

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 1932 GMT on 1 February reports that "Loncar returned to Belgrade today after a two-day visit to France."]

Newspapers Comment on Congress Walkout

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[Editorial report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 25 January on page 5 carries a 3,500-word review of articles by other Yugoslav newspapers commenting on the Slovene walkout at the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress. The review includes excerpts from commentaries by Belgrade POLITIKA, Ljubljana DELO, Zagreb VJESNIK, Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Novi Sad DNEVNIK, and Titograd POBJEDA which have been filed from the original sources, and a 300-word report on Sarajevo OSLOBOĐENJE and a 500-word report on Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI. The dates when the articles appeared are not given.

The unattributed OSLOBOĐENJE article entitled "Requiem for the Party" reads:

"The congress time-out is only a sad attempt to save face, to spare conceits, and to keep the gloves on at a time when in fact all the masks have been taken off, all the cards have been laid on the table, and all the misery and troubles of the Yugoslav Communist organization has been bared.

"Once again, regardless of who will get historical blame, it is clear that proclamations no longer apply in such a state and federation. The minimum that will save the party is a consensus on strategic problems. In the meantime, power is moving to the assembly where it belongs. In our country's political system, the party literally permeates all the pores of society. Taken literally, the crash of the congress should provoke a terrible political crisis in Yugoslavia. However, Yugoslavia has been in such a crisis for years. For some time now, the biggest problems—the Constitution and economic reform—bypass the party. This applies even to the changes in the political system.

"The most direct consequence of the congress shipwreck will probably be quite a few members leaving the party. The first wave will probably involve those who have been "fellow travelers" and who welcome any pretext to be vexed with the party and to stop paying membership fees. However, the LCY has gathered people on many foundations, of which ideological adherence to the idea of scientific socialism was probably among the less significant ones. The LCY meant identification with the regime, but also with the motherland and the socialist system. How many have considered the first word in the collocation "Yugoslav Communist" more important than the second!? In the future, the party's fate will be decided by its essential document, the new program which will rally new supporters and fresh blood."

The article in VECERNJE NOVOSTI by Nenad Stefanovic entitled "They Came To Leave" reads:

"...In the night when party leaders for the who-knows-what time were arguing and wrangling over who of them was the savior and who was the grave digger of the LCY and Yugoslavia, a decisive denial was issued in the same place, the Sava Center, to counter the idea that the whole country will remain blind when the LCY closes one eye. This was done by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, when he said that 'The fate of reform and of Yugoslavia cannot and must not depend on a possible split in the LCY.' Saying this, Markovic did not act as somebody who is 'whistling in the dark,' although he certainly knew that a possible crumbling of the party may transfer a similar virus to the state, although by now the strain has been weakened. Thus this statement, uttered in the Sava Center lobby, eventually became the most essential thing said after the 3 unsuccessful days at the congress.

"At the congress itself, nothing at all happened that one could not expect and that one should now experience as a special surprise. It has been known for a long time that the LCY has become exhausted with its fruitless efforts to create the impression of unity at any cost, that it has been a prisoner of the national parties, and that quite opposing views are implied by reform in the LCY. It was therefore only a question of time before somebody would formally 'bail out of the system' and make the first move in the formation of one of the possible two parties that can be quite seriously discerned within the LCY itself.

"Also as expected, the Slovene Communists bailed out, stating that their interpretation of a modern, reformed democratic party does not fit in with the unified type of organization within which many old diversions can still be seen, not yet abandoned to oblivion. They did it, however, in a rather ultimatum-like way, making their stay at the congress conditional upon everybody underwriting their reform project for the party. Their arrival at the congress with such a strategy was in a way looking for an alibi for their own sakes, to show that 'they tried everything' but that the intolerance of 'the other side' and its reliance on mere numbers forced them to go. There was of course some intolerance and outvoting, but the impression remained in the end that the Slovene Communists came to the Congress in order to make an easier exit from such an LCY. They justified this, above all, with the fact that they have to face elections soon and that they cannot win these elections unless they break links with what causes revulsion in their community, 'a unified League of Communists in an outmoded way.' It is yet to be shown how right those are who say that the Slovene Communists were perhaps even afraid that they might lose power in the elections, because one could hear from time to time that allegedly every additional hour spent at the congress in Belgrade 'cost' them at least a few thousand votes...."